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CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

Education Financing Priorities in Developing Countries[#]

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Abstract

We use the latest surveys of 15 low income, lower-middle income and upper-middle income countries to estimate the average private and social returns by levels of education. We compare returns across country type and to alternative investments in order to establish financing priorities. Our findings indicate that for low income countries, the priority is expansion of schooling at the primary level. For lower-middle income countries there is justification for further expansion at the primary level. For upper-middle income countries, returns justify an additional push at the secondary level.

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Introduction

Returns to investment in education have been estimated since the late 1950s. Recent analyses and reviews show a high private return to schooling, especially for higher education (Montenegro and Patrinos 2014; Peet, Fink and Fawzi 2015). The typical approach to estimating returns to schooling — the Mincer equation (Patrinos 2016)—provides information on the average monetary returns of one additional year of education. This is important for policymakers who must decide on education policy. But these estimates provide private returns to schooling, whereas government/public costs and other benefits are needed to estimate social rates of return (Psacharopoulos 1995). Social returns are more useful for policymakers and in the allocation of resources (Psacharopoulos and Mattson 1998).

In this paper, we estimate private and social returns by level of education for a selected group of low and middle income countries. We compare returns across country type and to alternative investments. We make policy recommendations for the financing of education by level of schooling and for type of country.

We argue that for low income countries, the social returns indicate that the priority is expansion of schooling at the primary level. For lower middle income countries, there is justification for further expansion at the primary level. For upper middle income countries, returns justify an additional push at the secondary level.

Data

Benefits: We used the latest household surveys in 15 low, lower-middle and upper-middle income countries according to the World Bank (2016) countries classification.

The countries in each group were selected on the basis of their size and the number of observations in each education-age category.

- Low income: Kenya; Congo Democratic Republic; Ethiopia; Gambia; Nepal
- Lower-middle: Indonesia; Sri Lanka; Pakistan; Vietnam; Zambia
- Upper-middle: Argentina; Brazil; China; Panama; Venezuela

We selected workers with dependent employment earnings. Earnings in local currency were converted to $US at the 2012 exchange rate.

For each country group we constructed age-education-earnings profiles for four levels of education — no schooling, primary, secondary and tertiary. Profiles were averaged within each country group weighted by the country's population, resulting in the graphs included in Annex 1 (see smoothed profiles in Annex 2).

The earnings (Y) profiles for each schooling level were smoothed out by using the following quadratic function (1):

$$Y = a + b\,AGE + c\,AGE^2 \qquad (1)$$

Costs: We used the costs by level of schooling and country income group presented in Table 1. The costs refer to central government, local government and private expenditure.

For all country groups we assumed a 6–6–4 year cycle for primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively.

TABLE 1

Annual Cost per Student and Per Capita Income, 2012 ($US)

Educational level	Low income	Lower middle income	Upper middle income
Primary	68	234	1,276
Lower secondary	135	299	1,415
Upper secondary	303	431	1,293
Post-secondary	1,433	2,496	4,763

Source: Education Commission (2016)

Returns Estimation

We used the full discounting method to estimate private and social returns to education where the social rate of return to investment in a given level of education is found by solving for r in the following equation (2). For example, in the case of university education, lasting four years and a working life of 42 years, we estimate r from:

$$\sum_{t=} \frac{(Y_u - Y_s)_t}{(1+r)^t} = \sum_{t=} (Y_s + C_u)(1+r)^t \qquad (2)$$

$(Y_u\text{-}Y_s)_t$ is the earnings differential between a university graduate (subscript u) and a secondary school graduate (subscript s, the control group) at time t. C_u represents the direct costs of university education (tuition fees, books), and Y_s denotes the students' foregone earnings or indirect costs.

Findings

The returns to education by country income group and level of schooling are presented in Table 2 and Fig. 1. As expected, returns are higher in lower income countries, where the quantity of schooling is scarcer. The low returns to primary education in upper middle income countries can be explained by the fact that primary education has reached most of the population and there is not a sufficient number of illiterates to serve as a control group. It may also mean that given near universal coverage of primary education in these countries, there is not much room to further expand this level of schooling. It might, instead, make sense to increase investment in the quality of primary schooling.

TABLE 2

Returns to Education by Country Income Group

Income level	Education level	Rate of return (per cent)	
		Private	Social
Low income	Primary	17.1	12.2
	Secondary	14.1	7.5
	Tertiary	22.8	9.6
Lower middle	Primary	13.8	8.4
	Secondary	9.4	6.7
	Tertiary	17.6	7.0
Upper middle	Primary	2.3	0.4
	Secondary	4.5	2.9
	Tertiary	16.9	9.2

FIGURE 1

Returns to Investment in Education, Low Income Countries (per cent)
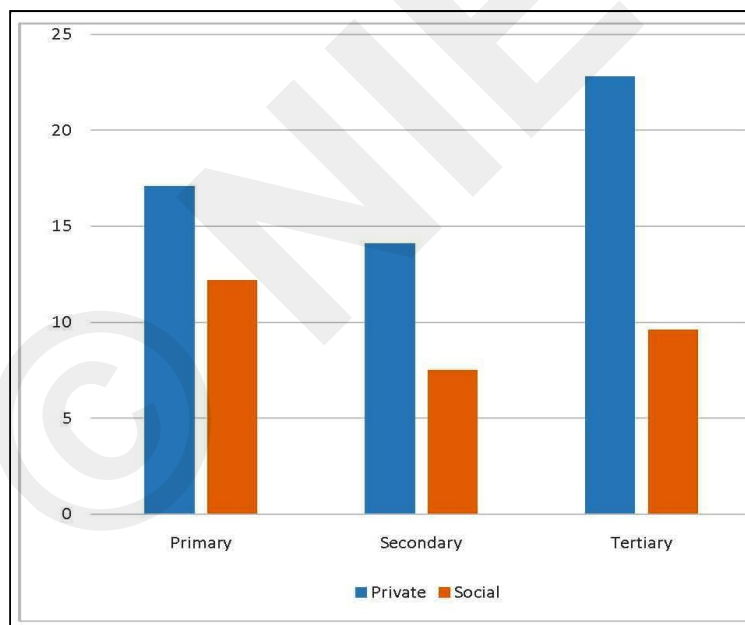
In low income countries, the private returns to schooling are high at all levels. Given the social returns, the priority for expansion of schooling is at the primary level. In most low income countries, the primary enrolment rate is significantly below the universal rate. The net enrolment ratio for primary school in low income countries is just over 82 per cent (Table 3).

TABLE 3

Enrollment Ratios by Income Group

Country income Level	Schooling Level	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Low income	Primary	74.7	76.8	78.7	80.3	81.0	81.1	82.0	82.6	82.8
	Secondary	29.6	30.9	31.8	33.0	34.3	35.5	36.2	37.1	37.1
	Tertiary	5.3	5.7	6.2	6.8	7.6	8.4	9.0	9.1	9.1
Lower middle income	Primary	83.7	84.7	86.6	86.3	86.9	87.3	87.0	86.9	86.6
	Secondary	48.3	49.4	51.4	53.0	53.0	55.3	57.8	59.6	59.7
	Tertiary	14.0	14.6	15.7	17.1	17.9	19.1	21.8	23.0	23.2
Upper middle income	Primary	94.7	94.1	94.6	94.5	94.5	94.4	94.4	94.2	94.3
	Secondary	64.2	66.1	68.6	71.0	73.3	75.4	77.4	78.5	80.5
	Tertiary	23.7	25.2	26.1	27.2	28.7	30.4	31.9	34.2	36.6

Source: World Bank EdStats, http://datatopics.worldbank.org/education/
Note: Net enrolment ratios for primary and secondary; gross enrolment rate for tertiary

For lower middle income countries, the private returns are high at every level, but only 8 per cent at the secondary level. Net primary enrolment for lower middle income countries is 87 per cent, so there is a justification for further expansion. For upper middle income countries, private returns are only high at the tertiary level. Enrolment is near universal at the primary level, though it has stagnated at 94 per cent since 2005. The returns to secondary are low, but the enrolment ratio at secondary level is increasing rapidly, from only 64 per cent in 2005 to over 80 per cent today. Given the high private and relatively high social returns to tertiary education in upper middle income countries, an additional push at the secondary level to improve access for the poor would make sense, so that they may be able to take advantage of high private returns to tertiary education.

Policy Implications

The patterns of the returns to education have several policy implications. Focusing on the social returns to education, primary education is an investment priority in low income countries, followed by secondary and tertiary. This finding is in line with previous findings in the literature (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004; Montenegro and Patrinos 2014). The range of social returns to education from 12 to 17 per cent in low income countries is well above any alternative investment (Table 4 and Fig. 2).

TABLE 4

Long Term Returns to Alternative Investments

Investment type	Return (per cent)
Education	12-17
Long-term bonds	2.7
Bank deposits	4.6
Stocks	4.6
Housing	2.8

Source: Education from Table 3, primary, low income countries; Alternative investments from http://money.cnn.com/calculator/pf/home-rate-of-return/;
http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FR.INR.DPST; stern.nyu.edu/

FIGURE 2

Returns to Alternative Investments (per cent)
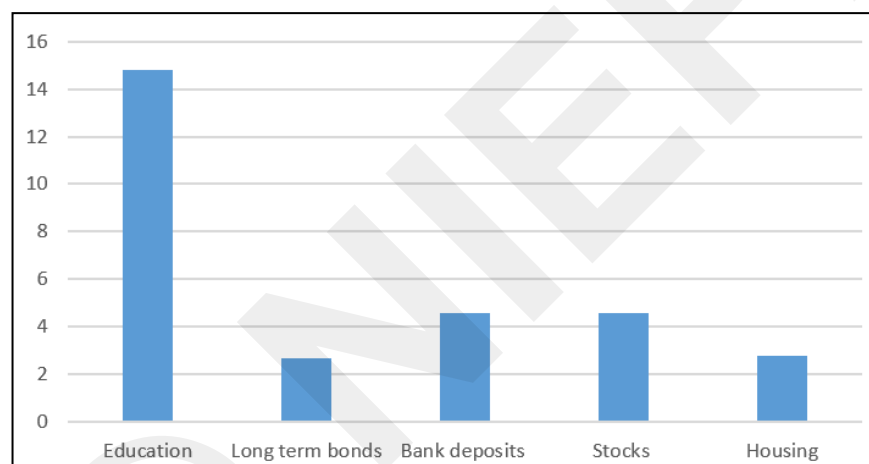
Note: Education returns, average of private and social returns in low income countries

The difference between private and social rates of return, especially for tertiary education, calls for innovative financing mechanisms that will expand access and effective demand for enrolment, especially among the poor (Psacharopoulos, Jimenez and Tan 1985). Such mechanisms may include, but are not limited to: selective cost-recovery, income contingent loans, human capital contracts, social impact bonds and conditional cash transfers.

To expand access and quality at the secondary level, alternative models may be needed to reach the poor in remote and rural areas. Special measures may be needed to increase enrolment among ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples in some countries, such as bilingual education or tailor-made delivery modes. Selected scholarships will play a role, especially for enticing girls to enter non-traditional fields at the upper secondary level. The much higher cost for secondary education, especially at the upper level, may require the use of public-private partnerships — for example, industry links for skills formation and charter schools to reach the poor and disadvantaged, vouchers and scholarships to encourage enrolment to complete secondary.

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Annexure—1

Average Age-Earnings Profiles

Low Income Countries
$US
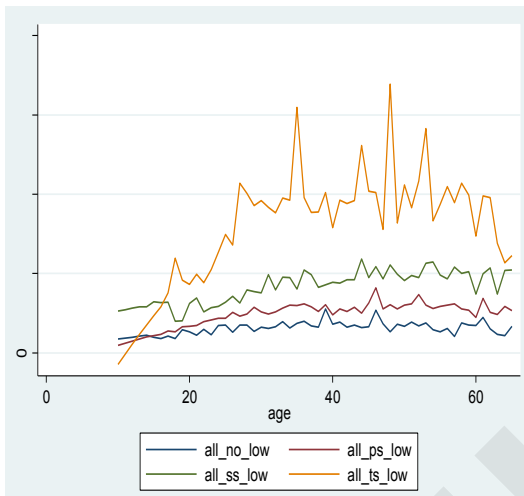
Upper Middle-Income Countries
$US
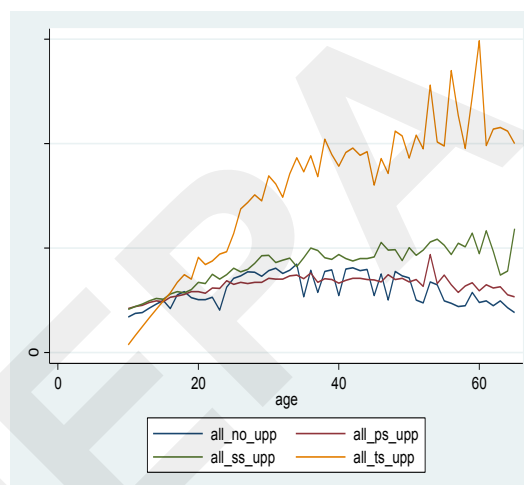
Low Middle-Income Countries
$US
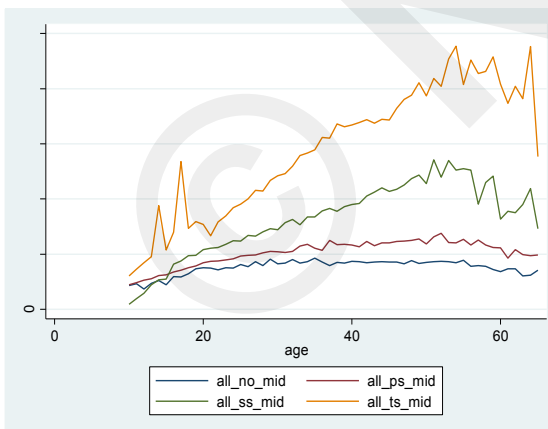
Smoothed Age-Earnings Profiles by Level of Education

Low Income Countries ($ US)

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
10				
11				
12	179			
13	191			
14	202	207		
15	213	231		
16	224	254		
17	234	276		
18	244	298		
19	253	319		
20	262	340	646	
21	271	359	664	
22	279	378	682	
23	287	396	699	
24	295	414	716	1361
25	302	431	732	1439
26	309	447	748	1512
27	315	462	764	1582
28	321	476	779	1648
29	327	490	793	1710
30	332	503	807	1769
31	337	516	820	1823
32	342	528	833	1874
33	346	538	846	1921
34	350	549	858	1964
35	353	558	869	2003
36	356	567	881	2038
37	359	575	891	2070
38	361	582	901	2097
39	363	589	911	2121
40	364	595	920	2141
41	365	600	928	2157
42	366	604	937	2170
43	366	608	944	2178
44	366	611	951	2183
45	366	613	958	2184
46	365	615	964	2181
47	364	616	970	2174
48	362	616	975	2163
49	360	615	980	2149
50	358	614	984	2130
51	355	612	988	2108

Table Contd...

Education Financing Priorities in Developing Countries

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
52	352	609	991	2082
53	349	605	994	2052
54	345	601	996	2019
55	341	596	998	1981
56	336	590	999	1940
57	331	584	1000	1895
58	326	577	1000	1846
59	320	569	1000	1793
60	314	560	1000	1737
61	307	551	998	1676
62	300	541	997	1612
63	293	530	995	1544
64	285	519	992	1472
65	277	507	989	1396

Low Middle Income Countries ($ US)

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
10				
11				
12	479			
13	506			
14	533	599		
15	559	638		
16	583	675		
17	607	711		
18	630	746		
19	652	780		
20	673	812	978	
21	693	843	1054	
22	712	873	1127	
23	730	902	1198	
24	747	930	1266	2088
25	763	956	1332	2180
26	778	981	1395	2269
27	792	1005	1456	2356
28	806	1028	1515	2441
29	818	1049	1571	2525
30	830	1069	1625	2606
31	840	1088	1676	2686
32	850	1106	1725	2764
33	858	1123	1772	2840
34	866	1138	1816	2914
35	872	1152	1858	2986
36	878	1165	1897	3056
37	883	1177	1934	3124
38	887	1187	1969	3190
39	890	1197	2001	3255
40	891	1205	2030	3317
41	892	1211	2058	3378
42	892	1217	2083	3437

Table Contd...

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
43	892	1221	2105	3494
44	890	1224	2125	3548
45	887	1226	2143	3602
46	883	1227	2158	3653
47	878	1227	2171	3702
48	873	1225	2181	3749
49	866	1222	2189	3795
50	858	1218	2195	3838
51	850	1212	2198	3880
52	840	1206	2199	3919
53	830	1198	2198	3957
54	819	1189	2194	3993
55	806	1178	2187	4027
56	793	1167	2178	4059
57	779	1154	2167	4090
58	764	1140	2153	4118
59	748	1125	2137	4144
60	730	1109	2119	4169
61	712	1091	2098	4191
62	693	1072	2075	4212
63	674	1052	2049	4231
64	653	1031	2021	4248
65	631	1008	1991	4263

Upper Middle Income Countries ($ US)

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
10				
11				
12	1979			
13	2107			
14	2230	2485		
15	2349	2566		
16	2462	2644		
17	2570	2719		
18	2672	2791		
19	2770	2860		
20	2863	2925	3297	
21	2951	2989	3399	
22	3033	3049	3498	
23	3111	3106	3594	
24	3183	3160	3687	5614
25	3250	3211	3776	5916
26	3313	3259	3863	6210
27	3370	3305	3946	6495
28	3422	3347	4026	6771
29	3469	3386	4103	7038
30	3510	3423	4177	7297
31	3547	3456	4248	7547
32	3579	3487	4316	7788
33	3605	3514	4381	8020

Education Financing Priorities in Developing Countries

Age	No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
34	3627	3539	4442	8244
35	3643	3561	4501	8459
36	3655	3579	4556	8665
37	3661	3595	4608	8863
38	3662	3608	4657	9052
39	3658	3618	4703	9232
40	3649	3625	4746	9403
41	3635	3629	4785	9566
42	3616	3630	4822	9720
43	3591	3628	4855	9865
44	3562	3623	4886	10002
45	3528	3615	4913	10129
46	3488	3604	4937	10248
47	3443	3590	4958	10359
48	3394	3574	4976	10460
49	3339	3554	4991	10553
50	3279	3531	5002	10637
51	3214	3506	5011	10713
52	3144	3477	5016	10779
53	3069	3446	5019	10837
54	2988	3411	5018	10886
55	2903	3374	5014	10927
56	2813	3334	5007	10959
57	2717	3290	4996	10982
58	2617	3244	4983	10996
59	2511	3195	4967	11001
60	2400	3143	4947	10998
61	2284	3088	4925	10986
62	2163	3030	4899	10966
63	2037	2969	4870	10936
64	1906	2905	4838	10898
65	1770	2838	4803	10852

The Socio-Psychological Context of Private Tuition

— The Indian Experience

Tapan R. Mohanty[*]

Abstract

The issue of private tuition despite is ubiquity and pervasiveness in Indian education system has not received the kind of attention that it requires. The few attempts that have been made in this regard have largely focused on the general trend of supplementary tutoring and its impact on educational performance of students. However, available literature on quantity, quality, and effect of private tuition on students at secondary level is almost negligible. This is highly paradoxical concerning the mushrooming growth of institutions providing private tuition and sheer volume of students enrolled in them across the country. The sheer volume, density and intensity of this phenomenon at secondary level depict the need for a systematic and comprehensive study especially from a socio-psychological perspective, precisely because the need and demand for learning is a product of collective consciousness. This study is highly pertinent especially at the level of secondary education as it remains the entry point of higher, technical and professional education. With increasing globalization and demand for highly competitive professional education, the stakes for private tuition and coaching institutes have grown manifold. In the context, of the need for a thematic and theoretical understanding of the perspective of private tuition, the present paper delves into the dynamics of private tuition in India and its socio-psychological explanation.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of private tuition is one of the myriad complexities associated with education in general and teaching-learning process in particular. Of late, a number of studies have been conducted on this aspect of education, especially in the Asian countries (Foondun 1992; Aggarwal 1997; Bray 1999, 2003, 2009, 2010; Bray and Chad 2012, Sen 2004; Sujatha 2006, 2012; Jayachandran 2014). It has really been a fascinating experience to observe the growth of private tuition both as a system and a culture in the last few decades across the world, and more so, in the case of India and other Asian countries. The ubiquitous and impressive presence of this system is both appealing and interesting, often deserving serious academic attention. In this context an attempt has been made to look at the issue of private tuition in India, rather seriously and systematically.

Private tuition is also known as private supplementary tutoring (Bray 2003) and some observers even consider it as a "shadow education system" (Bray 1999). Private tuition is ordinarily defined as the additional learning activities undertaken by the pupil beyond the school hours. Using the terms of supplementation, privateness and academic subjects, Bray has given an outline to the definition of the concept. He further adds that he limits it to the tutoring provided by private entrepreneurs and individuals for profit-making purposes (Ibid 20). In his later publication, he has explained that private supplementary tutoring as "tutoring in academic subjects (such as languages and mathematics) and is provided by the tutors for financial gain, and is additional to the provision by mainstream schooling" (Bray 2003:13). However, it needs to be mentioned that private supplementary tutoring should not be confused with private teaching, which constituted a significant proportion of learning process among the elite households of the medieval era, lasting well up to the early 19th century.

The phenomenon of private tuition is, however, neither new nor specific to a particular country. Reference to it exists interestingly in the 19th century publications, Whewell writes, "the objections to private tuition, which principally require (attention), are that it generates intellectual dependence and superficial knowledge, and that it interferes with public teaching" (1837). According to Russel (2002: 10), "in London and other big cities, private tutoring is booming. It has become one of the most important,, yet unacknowledged, factors in a child's school performance". Similarly, private supplementary tutoring has long been a major phenomenon in some parts of East Asia, particularly Japan, Republic of Korea and Taiwan. There has also been a reference in Russia to the "development of black market of coaching with its inflated prices, a phenomenon which is scandalous and incompatible with the moral principles of our society" (Pontryagain 1980). In recent decades, it has grown significantly in both industrialised and less developed societies. In countries as diverse as Egypt, India, Malta and Romania, over one-third of pupils regularly receive private supplementary tutoring and in some societies, the proportion is considerably higher. Indeed in a few countries, tutoring has become an almost universally pervasive phenomenon (Bray 2003).

Private Tuition in India

Private tuition though rampant in India, studies on private tuition are almost negligible. In the context of developing countries, including India, it is often believed that private tuition

is a result of both supply-driven demand and demand-driven supply. Imperfectly monitored teaching allows the teacher to teach poorly in the class, in order to create a demand for income-generating private tutoring (Biswal 1999). Dependency on private tuition increases performance even at the lower levels of education (Aggarwal 1998). In the context of the school level analysis, it was observed that a wide practice of private tuition in primary schools reinforces the inefficiency of the education system at the primary level. The worst sufferers of the system are children from economically and socially disadvantaged and backward classes (Sen 2001).

However, none of the studies focused exclusively on private tuition at the secondary level, where the data reveal that a maximum number of students seek private tuition. In India, private tuition is rampant at the level of education where there are public examinations or a transition phase to higher and technical education. This stage is secondary education. Keeping these broad perspectives in mind, the present article was conceived. In order to buttress the theoretical footprints, a small but significant empirical intervention was made to examine the nature of private tuition in Bhopal. Consequently, a small survey of ten coaching institutions offering private tuition in the city of Bhopal was conducted. Further, both formal and informal interviews of 200 tuition-going students were carried out to investigate the dynamics of private tuition among the participants of the process.

In the absence of long term, sustainable and significant empirical evidence, very general inferences and assumptions exist regarding the private tuition. Further, there has been a rise of professional coaching centres to prepare students for technical education (coaching centres in Kota, Pune, etc.) and the rise of teaching shops for the preparation of government jobs, including banking and public service commissions. The fact remains that this is an existential reality and needs to be seriously examined. In this paper, an attempt has been made to combine the theory with limited empirical date to provide a perspective to private teaching from a socio-psychological standpoint.

Theoretical Expositions

The question that remains unanswered and needs a critical examination is why do students opt for private tuition and then what is its impact on the society? The current essay intends to highlight these issues and attempts to put these issues into perspective to arrive at plausible answer(s). In order to examine these critical dimensions, emphasis is laid on socio-psychological reasons. The approach is further narrowed to specific theories and their applications rather than crisscrossing the labyrinth of social psychology. The theoretical paradigms followed in this study are of learning theory of the Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky and the American social psychologist George Herbert Mead. This is primarily because both have explained the context of learning from a socio-psychological perspective, examining the broader role of society and community in determining our learning preferences. This stems from convictions that in order to understand psychology in general and adult psychology in particular in the context of learning environment, these theories have an added advantage as they take care of the socio-cultural environment.

Of late, the Soviet psychologist, Lev Vygotsky's (1896-1934) works and his theories have received a wider attention, especially in educational psychology. The cornerstone of the Soviet psychology in general and Vygotsky's contributions in particular, is the "theory of activity". According to observers, the concept of activity has an important and ambiguous

role as did the concept of behaviour in American studies circa 1920 to 1950 and the concept of consciousness in European psychology of the late 19th century (Kozulin 1986). This clearly underlines the significance of using the activity theory in understanding the conditions that push the students to seek private tuition and enrol in coaching centres.

The problem of activity received mention in Vygotsky's article "Consciousness as a Problem of Behaviour" (1979). In a riposte to the behaviourism's reduction of psychological process to the reflexes, Vygotsky intended to bring consciousness back into psychological theory, albeit with a lot of modifications. Underlining the historicity, social character and "double nature" as the trinity of psychological explanation of human action, Vygotsky posited his theory of activity. Building consciousness from outside through relations with others, Vygotsky explained that: *"The mechanism of social behaviour and the mechanism of consciousness are the same. We are aware of ourselves, for we are aware of others, and in the same way as we know others; and this is as it is because we in relation to ourselves are in the same {position} as other are to us* (Vygotsky 1979, pp. 29-30).

In his conceptualisation, Vygotsky was influenced by Marx and Hegel as well as the research traditions of Gestalt psychology. From Hegel, Vygotsky took the thoroughly historical view of the stages of human development and the forms of realisation of human consciousness. Marx provided an impetus through his concept of human praxis, that is, concrete historical activity that is a generator behind the phenomenon of consciousness.

According to Vygotsky, the actualisation of human activity requires such intermediaries as psychological tools and the means of interpersonal communication. Psychological tools help the individual in mastering the natural and cognitive processes. Vygotsky perceived psychological development as a dynamic process, full of upheavals, sudden changes and reversals. This process, however, ultimately leads to the formation of the cultural, higher mental functions. A study of the dynamics of this formation and its behavioural objectification became major goals of Vygotsky's developmental programme.

On the other hand, George Herbert Mead was a Professor of Philosophy and his thoughts were only published posthumously, based on his dictated notes in the classroom. Meads' major concern was to explain the process of socialisation and personality development. According to Mead, a child internalises the norms of society as well as constructs a view of his self, largely through his interaction and observation of others. In his theory of socialisation the subject moves from focusing on the category of "generalised others" to "significant others", or in other words, a transformation takes place in the choice of selection, from general to specific. Later, C. H. Cooley (1902) used the concept as "the theory looking glass", in which we view and create our image not through a process of internal dynamics of innate consciousness, rather from the reflection that is provided by the society — how others view us and how we want to be perceived by others. According to Mead: *"As we shall see, the same procedure which is responsible for the genesis and existence of mind or consciousness — namely, the taking of the attitude of other toward one's self, or toward one's own behaviour — also necessarily involves the genesis and the existence at the same time, significant symbols, or significant gestures"* (Mead 1974 pp. 47-48).

Based on these theoretical landscapes, the present paper delves into the dynamics of private tuition in India and the psychological explanation. However, it is pertinent to provide a general description of private tuition in India.

Private Tuition in India: Trends and Perspectives

The system of private tuition has been in existence in India for a fairly long time, but in recent times, it has grown manifold, affecting the very core of educational system. During the last three decades, the private tuition scenario has undergone a sea change, in tune with the changing composition and character of the society. Earlier, the students in terminal grades classes only thought of receiving tuition, but nowadays, children start tuitions right from Class I. Instead of being perceived as an indicator of dullness, it is now perceived not only as a matter of necessity but also as a symbol of pride and social prestige. The necessity of weak students has now become the universal necessity of all students — weak, average and bright — because every student is keen to further improve his/her score in the examination. India may be still far from achieving universalisation of elementary education, but private tuition has become near universal, particularly among the middle class, in the urban as well as the rural areas.

The market forces have been responsible in transforming private tuition from the social taboo to a widely practised and accepted reality. The spirit of competition has been exacerbated by the mismatch between the number of aspirants and the limited spaces available at the higher levels of academic ladder. Parents incur extra expenditure on private tuition of their wards in the hope that it will bring them higher returns in future (Tansel and Fatma 2004; Sahfiq 2002). In some of the cases, tuition is not needed, but it is still arranged, because of the students and their parents that they are doing their utmost to meet the challenge of examination.

This begs an explanation. That is to explain why more and more students are seeking private tuition and what reasons they ascribe for their decisions to seek help from this alternative system. In the study this phenomenon was examined by asking this question to students and then made the content analysis to find the answer. In the following passages this issue is discussed.

The prime objective of tuition being to prepare for examination, an emphasis is laid on the completion of the syllabus in a planned manner, revision of each unit and preparing students for public examinations through critical question and answer exercises. The most important cause of receiving private tuition is, therefore, preparation for public examinations. The nature of the mainstream education system, discontent with the public system, i.e., mainstream schooling, competitive educational culture, giving children access to more intensive and advance teaching, lack of parents' academic support, parents' affordability and expectations from tuition are some other important causes. Ambition, worry, fear, distrust in the schooling system, a sense of insecurity and uncertainty — all mixed up in the students' minds lead them towards private tuition.

It is also not always a matter of anticipating higher achievement through tuition but one's readiness to pay indeed that pushes students to take tuition, especially in good coaching centres or home tuition by specialist tutors. This is reflected in the fact that most of the students who receive tuition in coaching centres are from middle and high socio-economic status. The high proportion of students, whose academic performance is already good, also take tuition for the whole year. From parents' perspective, tuition has become a matter of security and social identity, especially in the high class society. Because of inadequate parents' support, tuition makes parents feel more secure about their children's academic success. They keep children occupied in academic activities with an apprehension

that they would not be diverted towards other non-academic activities. Tuition also enhances parents' self-concept and social identity through the process of social comparison.

To be more specific, students were asked to give reasons as to why they go for private tuition. The important reasons, pooled from the respondents, suggest that the students go for private tuition because — they do not understand teaching at school; their teachers do not teach them well in school; they need more understanding; they are getting poor marks in the examination; they wish to get more marks in the examination; they wish to learn more by going to tuition; and also because of parents' decision and friends' advice to go for private tuition. The (Table 1 in the) annexure depicts the real picture.

The responses depict that students receive private tuition to get more marks in the examination (14.13 per cent), they need more understanding (17.74 per cent) and wish to learn more (12.44 per cent). A fairly significant per cent of students, i.e., 11.87 per cent of tuition going students stated that teachers do not teach well in the school, which indeed is fast emerging as a serious indictment of formal schooling system in an increasingly privatised educational system, while only 8.41 per cent students responded that they do not understand teaching in school. Roughly the percentage (8.18 per cent) of students avail tuition facility because of parental decision. The study further revealed that a majority of students think that private tuition in the coaching institutions is very good and very helpful to shape up one's future in a proper way; it is useful because students are prepared and taught according to the new examination pattern; and they know the trends and what could be asked in the examination. These institutions have the right method of preparing the students for particular examinations and, therefore, they suitably put in their efforts needed for a particular subject. They help the students by providing a suitable way of study, to optimise the learning of different subjects.

This shows that most of the reasons for going to tuition are directed towards students' preparation for examinations in which they want to score more marks. But then to my understanding the approach to examination in general and technical and professional examination in particular is the result of the societal practices. In fact, in the context of learning environment it may be said that the pupil's approach to the entire concept of education, their expectations from learning and methods of preparation for challenges of education, i.e., examination are both decided and determined by the societal conditions and experiences obtained in a particular socio-cultural context. This, in deed, forms the personality of the students, and in terms of Vygotsky creates a need in them and motivates them to practise and perform. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationship (Vygotsky). In the language of Mead, the society provides them a pictures of "significant others" and regulate their behaviour and form practices including the learning behaviour, deeply in consonance with the encounter with the outside world and their experience of it.

Even if we consider private tuition as a particular form of consumption both generated and supplied by the market, and students have little option other than falling prey to its charms, then Baudrillard's observation becomes quite interesting. In Baudrilliard's (1998) terms, consumption expresses a desire for social meaning. The self-image of parents and pupils may be significantly affected by their educational choice and there is a substantial empirical evidence (e.g. Easterlin 1995 and Solnick and Hemenway 1998) indicating the general importance of relative standing in consumer behaviour. Leibenstein (1950) identified three types of effect: a "Veblen effect" when consumer demand for expensive

goods and services is influenced by impression made upon by other consumers; a "band wagon effect" when demand is positively influenced by the number of other consumers purchasing it; and a "snob effect" when willingness to pay reflects exclusivity. Education provides a cultural capital and the social networks, a social capital on which parents may draw upon in making schooling choices (Adnett and Davis 2002, 57).

Social learning theory posits that, in addition to observation, direct reinforcement also contributes to role learning. Its primary critical function is to motivate individuals to enact their role appropriately. Social approval and disapproval figure prominently in the social learning explanation. Therefore, it is pertinent to suggest that failure in competitive examination and the desire to succeed, though looks as individual interest, are in fact, located in the social realm. Hence, the desire to perform in socially approved areas of interaction and the subsequent desire to consume things, if not guarantee, but at least provide a hope for better success rate. In other words, our personal preferences and consumption are socially driven, designed and determined. In the ideal human society, all individuals are capable of entering into the attitude of all others whom they are affecting in the course of performing their own functions (Mead 1934, 327). The "generalised others" as the organised community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self...(Ibid 154).

In any case, most people usually respond positively to social approval, present or imagined. Conforming to social norms depends heavily on this. People learn not only what is expected of them but also that they are rewarded when they act and feel as expected (Mead 1934, pp.148-149). The person here has not merely assumed the role of a specific others, but of any other participating in the common activity; he has generalised the attitude of role-taking (Morris xxiv). Since it is a social self, it is a self that is realised in relationship to others. It must be recognised by others to have the very values which we want to have (Mead 1934, 204). He further states that the self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relation to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process (Mead 1964, 199). In other words, the unity and structure of the complete self reflects the unity and structure of the social process as whole...(Ibid 200).

Our contention is that mind can never find expression, and could never have come into existence at all, except in terms of a social environment; that is an organised set or pattern of social relations and interactions (especially those of communication by means of gestures functioning as significant symbols and thus creating a universe of discourse) is necessarily presupposed by it and involved in its nature (Mead 1934, 223). In other words, what apparently looked as a student-driven process of seeking private tuition to improve personal conditions is, needless to add, a product of social interaction and a response to societal expectations. The individual enters as such into his own experience only as an object not as a subject and he/she can enter as an object only on the basis of social relations and interactions, only by means of his/her experiential transactions with other individuals in an organised social environment (Ibid 225).

Three basic motivational principles include the desire for mastery (understanding the universe in order to obtain rewards), the desire for connectedness to other people and groups, and the desire to maintain and enhance a positive view of the socially extended self

(the individual self as well as other persons or groups connected to the self) (Smith and Mackie 1997, 30).

For Mead, to have a self is to respond reflexively to oneself, to respond to oneself as an object, which implies that persons can and do come to symbolise or define themselves as participants in social relationships and ongoing interaction (Stryker 1997, 316).

Social influence theory is the study of how peoples' attitudes and behaviour are affected by others. The major theories assume that two distinguishable processes account for such influence (Turner 1982). One (normative) process is conformity to others' expectations to avoid rejection and gain approval. This is compliance as a result of group pressure, leading to outward behavioural change, but not private cognitive change. The other (informational) process is cognitively motivated conformity in which, in order to reduce uncertainty and perceive the world correctly, others' behaviour is accepted as evidence about reality.

Role taking is "the process whereby an individual imaginatively constructs the attitudes of the other, and thus anticipates the behaviour of the other (Bauer and Broadman 1975, 137). The human capacity of the role taking is the creator of "the duties, rights, the customs, the laws and the various institutions in human society" (Mead 1938, 625).

Conclusion

There are several reasons behind the rise of this trend. First, schools have not been able to fulfil their obligation and commitment to their children or to the community. Poor teaching in schools, lack of personal attention towards students, overcrowded classrooms, poor infrastructure, in other words, declining school efficiency forced parents to look for alternatives, which they found in the form of private tuition. This point becomes very important when it is found that the private tuition does not provide enlightenment or knowledge beyond the textbooks, rather it helps the students in attaining efficiency in following the textbooks and syllabus. Secondly, ambitious parents expect much from their children and feel that teaching in a generalised group environment in school system is not providing enough information. This realisation led them to find other media where they can overcome the deficiencies of school system and supplement them with additional knowledge. Thirdly, in a competitive economy and professionalised world, one has to remain constantly on the edge to succeed in the business of employment. Further, with so much emphasis on career, scarcity in job market has made it necessary to scout for alternatives beyond the school in order to be in a position to exercise the career choice. Fourthly, for many parents, putting their wards, in a reputed private tuition institution, has been a matter of social prestige and students also use their status as members of a particular coaching group as a unit of social comparison.

However, more than these, the phenomenon of private tuition is both a product and process of market economy. In other words, it is a market-created demand as well as process that made a market for it. The inefficiency of schools and parental ambition as a demand fostered the growth of private tuition as an institutionalised framework, instead of being a mere support system. Secondly, decreasing employment scenario, professionalisation of society, increased competition for admission into technical and professional courses and institutions have sustained the market for private institutions. On the other hand, through vigorous advertisement, promise of dream futures and playing with the aspirations of young children, institutionalised centres of private tuitions have managed to have a market for

themselves. For example, according to a rough estimate of a friend in the advertising media, each of the reputed coaching institutes of Bhopal spend around Rs. 70 lakh to 1 crore on advertisements. They have, in fact, in many cases been successful, creating a demand for their presence and have been able to sell the idea of their relevance to the parents. There has also been a trend in private tuition known as coaching centres exclusively, for offering tips, techniques and training to aspirants of various jobs like railway clerks, bank officers, state and union public services, etc. In the early 1970s, Geertz cited with approval Max Weber's image of human kind as "an animal suspended in a web of significance that he/she has spun" and declared, "I take culture to be those webs" (Geertz 1973:5) and giving essence to my argument I add private tuition in the present context is nothing but such a web of asymmetrical significance. A critical gaze at this web deeply underlines the psychological thought that those in turn have found both their meaning and purpose in the arguments developed by Mead and Vygotsky.

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Annexure

TABLE 1
Reasons for Availing Tuition

Reasons	Total
Do not understand teaching at school	8.41
Teachers do not teach well in school	11.87
Need more understanding	17.74
Getting poor marks	13.00
To get more marks in the examination	14.13
Prepare for competition	12.44
Parents' decision	8.18
Because friends also go for tuition	8.23
Other reasons (Personal attention)	6.00

TABLE 2
Tuition Bureaus' Monthly Fee Chart

Subject	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII (Commerce)	XII (Science)
English	600/-	700/-	800/-	800/-	1,000/-	1,000/-
Mathematics	600/-	700/-	700/-	2000/-	2,000/-	2,000/-
Science	600/-	500/-	550/-	Phy. 2,500/- Chem. 2,500/- Bio. 2,500/-		Phy. 2,500/- Chem. 2,500/- Bio. 2,500/-
Hindi	500/- (3 days)	500/- (3 days)	500/- (3 days)			
Social Studies	600/- (3 days)	550/- (4 days)			Eco. 1,000/- Acc. 1,000/- Other-1,000/- (each)	
All Subjects				Rs. 25,000/- Package for one subject 6 hours a week, for 6 months		Rs. 25,000/- Package for one subject, 6 hours a week, for 6 months

Source: Fieldwork in Study Centres of Bhopal, 2015-16

Note 1: There are special coaching classes for IX-XII grade students to prepare for IIT, PMT and other competitive examinations. It also includes coaching for Kishore Vaigyanik Prostahan Puraskar (Young Scientists Award), National Talent Scholarship, and Mathematics, etc. There are variable and special price lists for each of these examinations.

2: Most coaching institutions in Bhopal have developed specialised study packages which vary from a quarter to two years depending on the need, skills and the ability of the student to pay.

3: Interestingly, these prices are often negotiable and vary from one institution to another, based on their reputation and reputation of individual teacher.

Addressing Unemployment among Educated Youth in India

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Abstract

Based on the NSSO data on employment and unemployment, the paper critically analyses the question of unemployment among the educated youth in India, with a focus on gender, social groups and regions. After briefly examining the educational development among the youth, the paper questions the persistence of comparatively higher incidence of unemployment among the educated youth. It finds both supply and demand factors responsible for such situation and questions the quality of education of youth, which is compromised at the cost of expansion in recent years. By using the logit model, the paper shows that despite growing mismatches between demand and supply of jobs, the likelihood of getting regular jobs improves with the improvement in educational attainments, but at a varying degree for youth belonging to various socio-religions groups. Lastly, the paper offers some useful suggestions to improve the employment opportunities for youth in India.

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The Issue

The neo-liberal policies and programmes aimed at achieving high economic growth through removing distractions in factor markets are growingly being criticised across the globe in recent times, for their inability to remove structural imbalances and creating ever-increasing inequalities in factor incomes (Piketty 2013; Atkinson 2015; Ostry *et al.* 2016). Such neo-liberal policies have helped capital to increase its share disproportionately as compared to labour. More so, the gains in labour earnings are mostly shared by those at the top one percentile, thereby creating sizeable income inequalities in recent years. Contrary to the general theoretical prescription, the increased policy support for private sector at the cost of public sector could not create employment opportunities to clear the backlog of unemployment at a desired pace. Youth have been adversely affected by such policy measures as unemployment among them increased over the years (Kannan 2014, IHD-ISLE 2014).

The major issues that confront the youth include the high incidence of unemployment as well as under-employment, limited opportunities for remunerative jobs, low levels of education and skills, and the quest for identity and dignity (ILO 2013; FES 2012; Mitra and Verick 2013). All this applies to India as well. The youth suffer disproportionately more than others from slow growth in employment opportunities and an economic slowdown (ILO 2013). With a population of over 333.4 million in 2011, the youth[1] represent 27.5 per cent of the Indian population (Population Census 2011). India is among the few countries having the advantage of being home to a relatively higher proportion of younger population. Across the world, every fifth youth is an Indian. This demographic dividend of a rising share of the working age population (15-59 years), which came into effect in the early 1980s is likely to remain till 2025 (ILO 2013; Aiyar and Mody 2011). Such a huge proportion of a relatively young population in India is expected to add to both its economic growth and the consequent demand for goods and services (Bloom and Canning 2004; Aiyar and Mody 2011). However, this "demographic dividend" can turn into a "demographic nightmare" if opportunities are not created for the all-round development of the youth, including quality education and decent employment (Chandrasekhar *et al.* 2006). The information technology (IT) revolution and increasing use of social media has facilitated an unprecedented mobilisation of the youth to reflect on issues of their concerns (World Bank 2013). Uprising in the Middle East, called the "Arab Spring", and the voices criticising corruption and demanding clean governance in India are examples of mobilisation of the youth to bring about a change in the existing systems.

Growing mismatches in the demand and supply of education and skills is yet another dimension that affects the overall employability of youth in India and several other countries as well (ILO 2010; Chadha 2000; Mamgain and Tiwari 2016). While on the one hand, employers complain against shortages of skilled manpower that pose hurdles in their expansion (India Skills Report 2014; ILO 2013); on the other hand, there is a high rate of unemployment among the educated youth, particularly women (Dev and Venkatanarayana 2011). Employers find a large number of job seekers unemployable due to insufficient exposure of the latter to the practical aspects of education.

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[1] We consider the population aged 15-29 years as youth for our analysis in the present paper. Many programmes of the Government of India aimed at youth also cover the age-group of 15-29 years.

The issue of youth, particularly in the context of their educational development, was also accorded priority in the UN initiated Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Drawing lessons from the past progress made by countries, the issue of youth finds a prominent place in the post-2015 MDGs development paradigm, being termed as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) paradigm. SDGs goal 4 specifically aims to (i) improve the access and quality of technical, vocational and tertiary education to all women and men, (ii) substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have the relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship; (iii) eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations; and (iv) ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy (United Nations General Assembly, 69th session, Agenda items 13 (a) and 115, 12th August 2015). As a signatory of MDGs and now SDGs, the Indian policy regime has been significantly influenced by its commitment to achieve the development goals in a time framework. India has made considerable progress towards meeting the MDGs target, particularly relating to universalisation of education and improvements in youth literacy. However, its track record in reducing poverty, hunger, malnutrition and creating decent employment has been less than satisfactory (GoI-MoSPI 2014).

Given this brief background, the next section of the paper examines the educational development among the youth population. It highlights the magnitude of caste, gender and regional disparities in their educational development and shows how a large section of the youth is still characterised by low levels of educational attainment and skill training. Section III analyses the incidence of unemployment among youth in general, and that among the educated in particular, with a focus on women and marginalised social groups. Section IV estimates the likelihood of youth getting into regular salaried jobs and other forms of employment by using the logistic regression (logit) model. The last section offers a few suggestions for promoting employment opportunities for youth in India. The paper is based on the National *Sample* Survey Organisation (NSSO) data on Employment and Unemployment.

## Educational Development among Youth

Nearly 30 per cent of youth were reported as students in 2011-12. There was a remarkable increase in the population of youth pursuing their education as their proportion nearly doubled during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12. This increase in the number of youth pursuing their education largely occurred since 2004-05 (Table 1). It has been more so in the case of young females, resulting in improvement in gender parity ratio. However, the gender parity ratio still remains much lower in the age group of 20-24 years (Fig. 1). The credit for this goes to the special focus of government policies on developing education access and also redistributive measures such as scholarships, educational loans, MNREGA, etc., leading to a larger enrolment in post-secondary educational institutions in the recent years.

TABLE 1

Percentage Share of Students among Youth

Age group	Male	Female	Percent
1993-94			
15-19	41.9	27.17	35.23
20-24	11.55	4.59	8.04
25-29	1.38	0.32	0.83
15-29	20.58	10.95	15.88
2004-05			
15-19	47.72	38.22	43.34
20-24	12.95	6.85	9.89
25-29	1.52	0.46	0.99
15-29	19.06	13.75	16.55
2011-12			
15-19	65.99	58.47	62.58
20-24	23.94	14.52	19.28
25-29	2.85	1.32	2.07
15-29	34.5	25.66	30.22

Source: Calculated from unit level data of NSSO on Employment and Unemployment, Various Rounds. For rest of the tables and figures, the data source is the same as in Table 1.

FIGURE 1

Gender Parity Ratio among Youth Currently Pursuing their Education
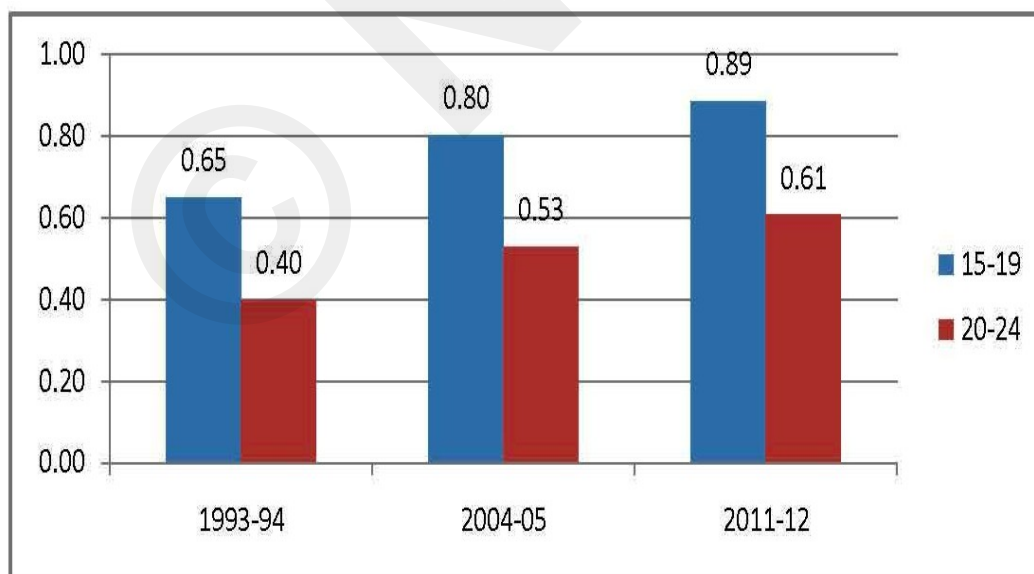
Paradoxically, about 30 per cent of the youth were attending educational institutions in 2011-12, yet over 13 per cent of the youth in the country still remain illiterate (Table 2). While over 55 per cent of the youth population has acquired education up to the middle school level and below, 35 per cent of the youth have attained education up to the high school and higher secondary level. The share of graduates among the youth stands at 8.6 per cent, but the proportion of those with technical education is abysmally low, a little over 3 per cent of the total youth population (Table 2).

TABLE 2
Trends in Educational Development of Youth

Education Levels	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12
Illiterate	38.55	22.8	13.14
Up to the Primary Level	24.39	23.65	19.19
Middle Level	19.71	23.25	22.70
Secondary and Senior Secondary Level	13.2	23.38	34.55
Diploma and Certificate.	0.20	1.38	1.78
Graduate and above	3.96	5.54	8.63
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Technical Degree-holder	0.09	0.28	0.49
Technical Diploma-holder below the Degree Level	0.81	1.62	2.04
Technical Diploma-holder equivalent to a Degree	0.99	0.87	0.75
Total-Technical Degree/Diploma-holders	0.89	2.77	3.28

If seen gender-wise, over 18 per cent of the female youth are illiterate as compared to the much lower corresponding figure of 8.5 per cent for their male counterparts. Interestingly, the proportion of graduates among female youth is close to that for males (over 8 per cent). However, the proportion of female youth having technical degrees and diplomas is almost half of that for male youth (4.17 per cent and 2.34 per cent, respectively) in 2011-12.

Significant disparities still exist between the educational attainments of youth belonging to various socio-religious groups. Here we have categorised youth into six groups, i.e., Scheduled Tribes (STs), Scheduled Castes (SCs), Other Backward Classes-Muslims (OBC-Muslims), Other Backward Classes-other than Muslims (OBC-Others), Other caste-Muslims (OC-Muslims), and Other castes (OCs). Over one-fifth of the STs and OBC-Muslim youth are still illiterate at the dawn of the 21st century, whereas the proportion of such youth is less than 4 per cent among the OCs. The proportion of youth with a secondary level of education is almost double among the OCs as compared to the STs. Similarly, the percentage of graduates is much higher among the OCs than among the STs, SCs and Muslims. A similar pattern can be observed in the case of youth with technical degree and diploma level educational attainments. It may thus be concluded that where higher educational attainments are concerned, the OCs are on top, followed by the OBC-Others, Other-Muslims, SCs, OBC-Muslims and lastly, the STs (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).

There has been a significant improvement in the educational levels of youth during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12, a fact that has been confirmed by earlier research too (IAMR 2011; IHD-ISLE 2014). The proportion of graduates and of those who have passed secondary

and senior secondary levels among youths more than doubled during the period. Although the ratio of technical degree-holders among the youth is low, it improved by 5.4 times since 1993-94. However, such improvement has been uneven across various socio-religious groups. Between 2004-05 and 2011-12, the relative gap of percentage share of "Graduate and above" among OCs and ST/SC youth widened with a faster improvement in the case of OCs. The youth belonging to the category of OBC-Others have also achieved considerable improvement in their educational levels, particularly at the secondary level as compared to ST, SC and Muslim youth (Fig. 2 and Fig 3).

FIGURE 2

Percentage of Youth with Education of Secondary and above Level
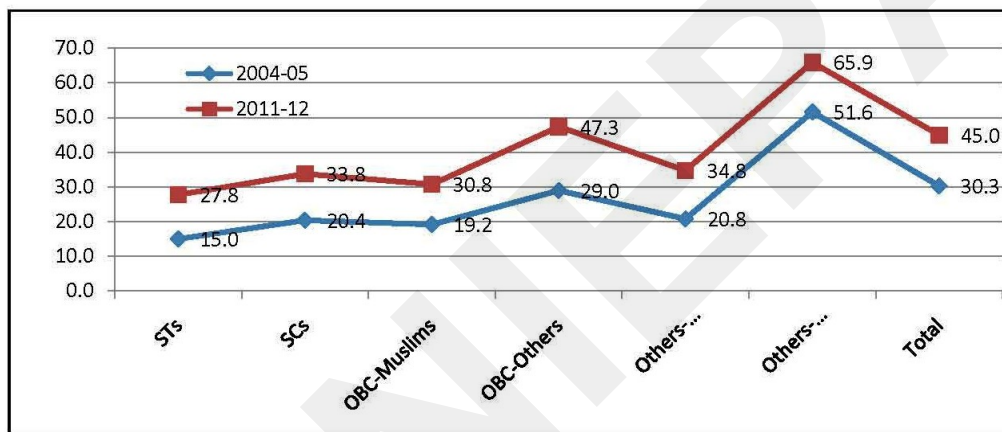
FIGURE 3

Percentage of Youth with Education of Graduate and above Level
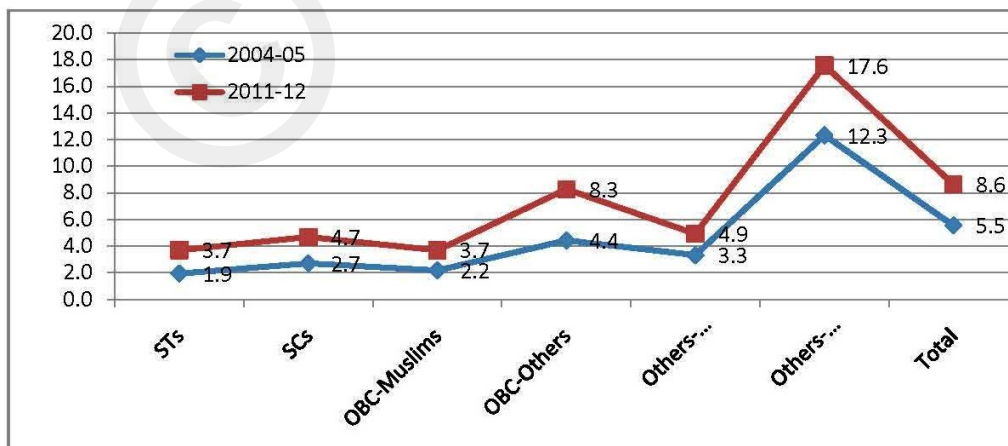
In brief, despite a few significant improvements in the literacy levels of youth belonging to the ST, SC and OBC-Muslim groups, their transition to a higher level of education has been rather slow, as compared to that of OCs and OBC-Others. This has seriously hampered their employability and prospects to move to better occupations.

Regional Trends in Educational Development of Youth

There exist significant regional disparities in the educational development of youth in India. About one-fourth of youth are still illiterate in Bihar as compared to almost full literacy in Kerala in 2011-12. Other states with comparatively higher illiteracy rates among youth include Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. These states generally lag behind in various development indicators, including per capita income. However, the rate of decline in illiteracy rates in most of these states have been sizeable, yet comparatively slower than other states during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12. For example, the rate of decline in illiteracy among youth has been highest in Tamil Nadu, followed by Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Karnataka and Haryana.

With respect to the share of youth with secondary and above level education (educated), Goa ranks top as three-fourth of its youth belong to the category of educated persons in 2011-12. Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Tamil Nadu are the other states among top five states. At the bottom stream are Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The percentage share of the educated among youth therein ranges between 32 to 37 per cent. Surprisingly, the percentage of educated youth in a developed state like Gujarat is less (42.4 per cent) than the national average of 45 per cent. States which experienced a significant jump in the share of the educated among their youth population include Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand and Odisha. Most of these states still have to attain the levels of those ranking at top five positions in 2011-12 (Table 3).

The proportion of the educated among SC/ST is significantly low as compared to non-SC/ST youth across almost all states. The gap is highest in Punjab between SC/ST and non-SC/ST youth (31 percentage points), followed by Haryana (28.7 percentage points), Odisha (26.1 percentage points), Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh (25 percentage points each). Such a wide gap in the educational attainments of SC/ST youth in relatively developed states like Punjab and Haryana are perplexing and need further investigation (Fig. 5). It clearly emerges that special measures would be required to improve the educational levels of youth in those states which are lagging far behind. These include Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan This will be possible through improving access to quality educational infrastructure, supported by public finances. Equally important to note is that faster improvement in the educational development of youth will only be possible when educational development of SC/ST youth improves at a much faster pace. This would be possible through an increased role of public funding for the educational development and not by leaving it to the private sector entirely.

TABLE 3

State-wise Percentage share of Educated (High School and above) among Youth

State	1993-94	2004-05	2010-11
Andhra Pradesh	19.45	32.67	54.89
Assam	22.86	24.20	38.09
Bihar	19.76	21.52	33.05
Chhattisgarh	18.23	22.37	35.43
Delhi	47.75	51.85	65.60
Goa	48.21	56.52	74.31
Gujarat	28.48	36.04	42.40
Haryana	30.77	42.17	58.85
Himachal Pradesh	30.80	47.78	67.50
Jammu & Kashmir	27.30	34.31	51.61
Jharkhand	20.07	22.75	37.72
Karnataka	26.48	34.85	55.93
Kerala	38.39	51.61	70.52
Madhya Pradesh	17.77	22.83	34.25
Maharashtra	30.71	41.48	58.28
Odisha	16.47	23.38	32.43
Punjab	32.98	45.58	54.05
Rajasthan	15.62	20.88	36.38
Tamil Nadu	26.76	42.11	62.47
Uttar Pradesh	19.87	25.63	37.43
Uttarakhand	29.24	40.12	56.70
West Bengal	16.91	23.53	32.52
Total	23.45	31.17	44.96

FIGURE 4

Trends in Literacy Rates among Youth by their Social Groups
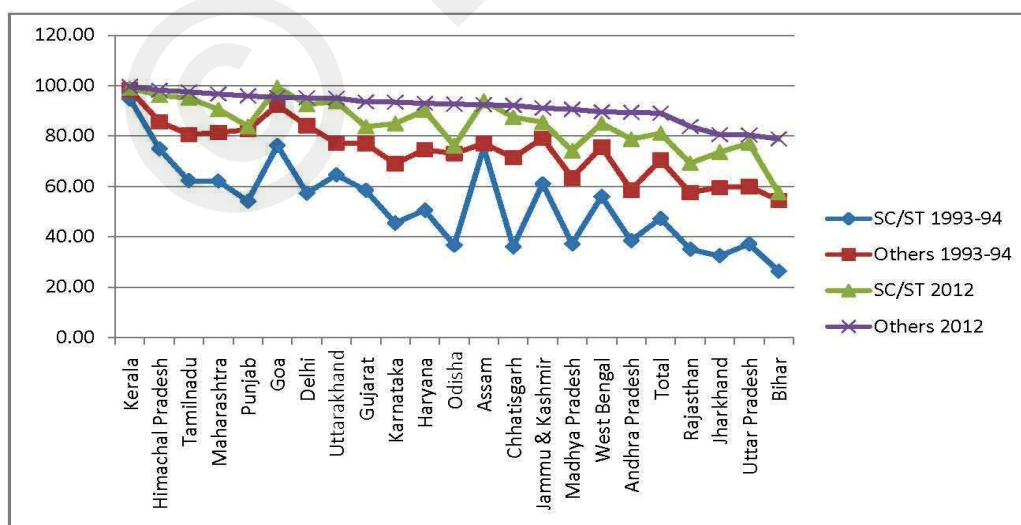
FIGURE 5

Trends in Percentage Share of Educated Persons among Youth by their Social Groups
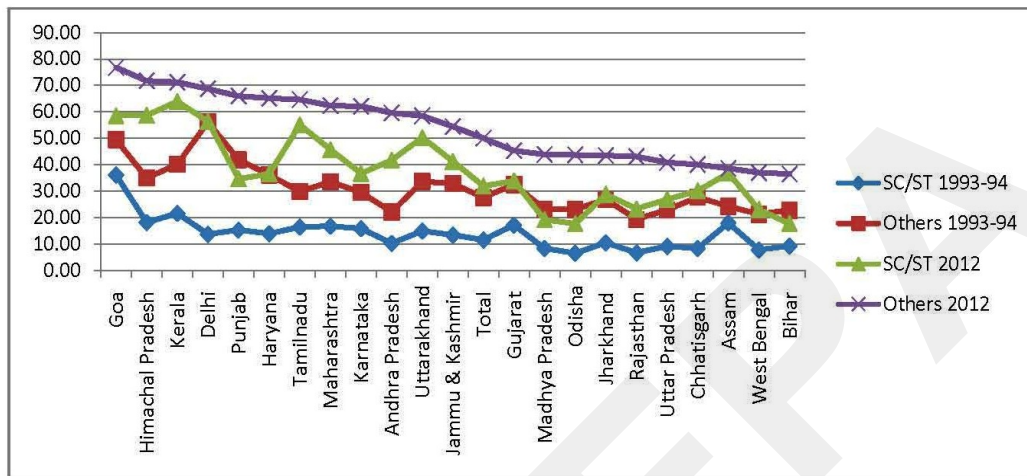
Gender Parity

While the SCs and STs are very close to others in attaining gender parity in terms of the net attendance in primary education, the issue still remains worrisome at the secondary level of education. Among the SCs, there are 711 girls per 1,000 boys attending secondary education, with this figure being higher than that for STs (623) and very close to the national average (732). In the sphere of tertiary education, the gender parity is very close (964 girls per 1,000 boys). More interestingly, the ratio of SC girls enrolled in higher education is higher than that of boys (1,114 girls per 1,000 boys). This could be partly attributed to the scholarship scheme of the government. In the case of STs, however, the ratio is the lowest at 623. This could be because for them, the distance of the education facility from their places of residence poses a major hindrance, which discourages girls from continuing their higher education. Thus, the major concern for the new development paradigm is the need to universalise secondary education and improve its quality in order to ensure gender parity.

In brief, the educational levels of youth have improved significantly over the years. However, there persist significant differences in the educational development of youth across their gender, social groups and regions to which they belong. There are usual laggard states which also lag far behind in improving educational levels of their youth population. This is mainly due to a lack of access to educational institutions, poor economic conditions compelling a large number of youth to look for employment at very early stages of their educational development, poor quality of education (ASER, 2013) that seriously affect the learning as well as employability of youth. Apart from this, there are evidences of discrimination in educational institutions, which girls as well as SCs suffer, leading to disinterest and drop out (Thorat and Newman, 2010).

Unemployment among Youth and the Challenge of their Employability

About 9.14 million youth in India are unemployed, representing 84.7 per cent of the entire unemployed population in the country in 2011-12. The number of unemployed youth in the country swelled from 5.6 million in 1993-94 to 7.9 million in 2004-05, and further to 9.14 million in 2011-12, increasing at the rate of 2.75 per cent annually, during the entire reference period. The incidence of unemployment is almost three times higher (6.2 per cent) among youth as compared to adults (2.2 per cent). Gender-wise, the rate of unemployment is higher among young females, particularly in the urban areas (14.1 per cent) as compared to young males (8.25 per cent). The corresponding figure for rural areas is about 5 per cent each for males and females. The rate of unemployment among the youth increased steadily from nearly 4 per cent in 1993-94 to 5.4 per cent in 2004-05, and to 6.2 per cent by 2011-12 (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Education-Specific Unemployment Rates among Youth

Education Levels	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12
Illiterate	0.59	1.02	1.72
Up to Primary Level	2.00	2.79	3.03
Up to Middle level	5.93	4.70	4.47
Up to High School and Higher Secondary Level	11.85	10.34	7.40
Diploma and Certificate	21.21	20.11	15.98
Graduate and above	23.82	21.45	19.86
Technical Degree	7.69	18.21	20.79
Diploma not equivalent to Degree	22.57	19.95	18.20
Diploma Equivalent to Degree	23.75	20.17	17.03
Total	3.98	5.44	6.23

Mismatch between Education and Employability

The human capital theory of development explicitly recognises the role of education and skills in improving the employability as well as productivity of the labour force. The improvement in educational levels significantly reduces the chances of remaining unemployed (Shultz 1961; ILO 2013). The empirical evidence, however, shows a positive relationship between educational attainments and rate of unemployment, particularly associated with the rigidities in the factor markets. In India, over 67.6 per cent of the unemployed youth possess secondary and above education. Youth having a graduate degree, including technical and professional educational attainments, suffer with the highest incidence of unemployment as every fifth among them was unemployed in 2011-12. The next highest incidence of unemployment is among those having diploma level professional and technical education (Table 4).

Female youth with a higher level of education suffer with high incidence of unemployment as compared to their male counterparts. For example, about 26 per cent female youth with graduate and above education were unemployed as compared to 17.4 per cent of their male counterparts in 2011-12 (Mamgain and Tiwari, 2016). Reasons for such high incidence of unemployment among young females include responsibilities of home-care economy, limited mobility due to various socio-economic constraints and prevalence of gender discrimination in recruitment and wages (IHD-ISLE 2014).

Similarly, the rate of unemployment among graduate youth varies from the highest 32.9 per cent in case of OCs to 19.3 per cent in case of OBC-Others. As regards the youth who have acquired diploma level education (below the graduate level), incidence of unemployment among the SC, OBC-Others and ST youth is much higher as compared to OCs (Table 5). It appears that the acquisition of degree level technical education has significantly improved the employability of youth in the categories of SCs, OBC-Muslims and OBC-Others, as compared to STs, OC-Muslims and 'OCs'. This is possibly due to the implementation of the reservation policy in public employment and also the evidence of a growing number of SC and Muslim youth taking up private sector regular salaried jobs in recent years

As regards the changes in the incidence of unemployment over the years, it increased substantially among the illiterate and less educated youth during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12, but decreased significantly in the case of those having attained higher levels of education, barring those with technical degrees (Table 5). In fact, the unemployment rate among graduates with technical degrees jumped from 7.7 per cent in 1993-94 to 18.2 per cent in 2004-05, and increased further to nearly 21 per cent in 2011-12. The rate of decline in the incidence of unemployment has been substantive (ranging from 2 to 3 percentage points) for those with technical diplomas and high school graduates.

TABLE 5

Unemployment Rates among Youth by their Social Groups (2011-12)

Education Levels	STs	SCs	OBC-Muslims	OBC-Others	OC-Muslims	OCs
Illiterate	0.62	1.98	3.62	1.46	2.61	1.18
Primary	0.97	4.12	3.70	1.73	5.32	4.22
Middle	3.06	4.56	5.68	4.12	9.18	3.82
High School and Higher Secondary	12.10	6.84	10.16	5.87	11.03	7.37
Diploma and Certificate	14.34	20.43	9.86	20.09	11.47	10.11
Graduate and above	24.73	22.92	25.93	19.29	32.95	17.54
Technical Degree	33.03	15.08	21.82	18.71	39.32	21.44
Diploma not equivalent to Degree	20.47	23.87	16.62	20.55	13.62	13.33
Diploma Equivalent to Degree	11.50	8.33	20.87	14.37	12.50	20.54
Total	4.11	5.62	6.36	5.61	8.29	8.49

Regional Trends in Incidence of Unemployment among Educated Youth

How does the incidence of unemployment vary across the Indian states and that too particularly for SCs/STs? A high 29 per cent of educated youth in Assam and another 28 per cent in Kerala were unemployed in 2011-12. In contrast, Gujarat has the lowest rate of unemployment among its educated youth (2.6 per cent). Gujarat has a consistently low rate of unemployment as compared to most of the states since 1993-94. This shows the success of Gujarat's industrialisation in creating employment opportunities since early 1990s. Other states such as Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand and West Bengal also face comparatively much higher incidence of unemployment than the national average of 11.5 per cent. Notably, these states not only have a comparatively low percentage of educated among their youth, but also lag behind in their industrial development and thus, creating employment opportunities. Such states have the double challenge of not only improving the educational levels of their youth but also having to create employment for them on a large scale.

Unemployment rate for the educated SC/ST youth is marginally high than the other social groups. However, in at least ten among 21 states, they suffer with proportionately higher incidence of unemployment. Surprisingly, in states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal, unemployment rate among the educated SC/ST youth is significantly lower than others. The possible explanation for this situation is the very low proportion of educated young women among SC/ST youth as compared to others, thereby keeping the overall rate of unemployment among such educated youth low in these states.

As seen earlier, unemployment rates among the educated youth tended to decline over the period 1993-94 to 2011-12. This trend has been observed in all states except Uttarakhand, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh during the period 2004-05 to 2011-12. Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh witnessed a marginal decline in unemployment.

In case of SC/ST youth, the rate of unemployment also tended to decline in all states except Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Bihar, Assam and Karnataka. States like Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Maharashtra and Kerala experienced a decline of over five percentage points in the rate of youth unemployment among SC/ST between 2004-05/2011-12. Notably, in these nine states the decline in youth unemployment rate has been rather lower for youth from other social groups as compared to SCs/STs (Table 6).

TABLE 6
Unemployment Rate among Educated Youth (Secondary and above)

State	1993-94			2004-05			2011-12		
	SCs/STs	Others	Total	SCs/STs	Others	Total	SCs/STs	Others	Total
Andhra Pradesh	14.06	12.89	13.05	17.10	12.14	13.01	7.85	13.85	12.65
Assam	43.74	42.88	43.02	21.28	27.86	26.44	34.41	27.06	28.88
Bihar	13.20	18.05	17.50	10.88	15.75	15.07	35.58	10.61	13.76
Chhattisgarh	14.45	18.12	17.11	8.49	11.74	10.62	4.59	13.54	10.05
Delhi	0.00	4.17	3.87	19.15	17.61	17.75	12.07	11.42	11.57
Gujarat	11.13	6.93	7.70	3.81	4.89	4.67	4.42	2.07	2.58
Haryana	12.05	10.15	10.32	14.45	12.83	13.04	14.41	10.51	11.00
Himachal Pradesh	5.47	5.38	5.39	13.21	6.62	8.30	1.74	7.36	5.52
Jammu & Kashmir	15.78	14.02	14.31	12.76	15.53	15.18	7.80	18.83	16.66
Jharkhand	29.80	30.23	30.15	12.77	18.58	17.15	21.68	14.67	17.22
Karnataka	13.21	12.55	12.64	7.45	10.08	9.65	10.00	7.42	7.78
Kerala	43.00	39.49	39.70	37.32	40.11	39.86	30.01	27.20	27.49
Madhya Pradesh	16.21	14.36	14.72	7.94	8.35	8.30	4.29	8.50	7.50
Maharashtra	15.95	12.08	12.45	12.71	7.47	8.39	6.42	5.49	5.67
Odisha	14.46	28.29	25.81	23.99	35.20	32.55	17.38	14.50	15.35
Punjab	8.74	11.74	11.25	21.73	17.80	18.93	8.23	9.02	8.81
Rajasthan	13.54	5.57	6.63	11.73	8.00	8.78	8.75	7.53	7.81
Tamil Nadu	23.97	17.18	18.23	18.08	12.27	13.18	11.68	12.09	12.00
Uttar Pradesh	5.13	7.83	7.50	6.53	5.19	5.34	4.70	10.42	9.37
Uttarakhand	10.05	17.80	16.66	5.83	10.85	10.09	26.00	15.71	17.19
West Bengal	24.85	28.84	28.22	17.64	21.16	20.40	13.45	17.43	16.54
Total	16.11	15.87	15.91	14.58	13.55	13.73	12.02	11.30	11.45

While looking at the growth rates in absolute numbers of unemployed youth, their number increased by nearly 3 per cent per annum between 1993-94/2004-05, and thereafter decelerated significantly to about 0.3 per cent per annum between 2004-05/2011-12. This means that employment opportunities for educated youth significantly improved along with their sizeable transition in favour of education since the early 1990s (Fig. 6). However, this pattern significantly varies across the states. There are at least a dozen states where growth in the number of unemployed youth increased between 2 per cent to 8 per cent annually during the period between 2004-05 and 2011-12, and these growth rates were higher than the previous period, 1993-94 and 2004-05. Most prominent among such states are Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Andhra Pradesh. Contrary to these states, the number of educated youth unemployed declined in absolute terms significantly in states namely, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Kerala, Gujarat, Odisha and to some extent Delhi, during the period 2004-05 and 2011-12. Notably, these states, except Odisha, are relatively developed ones, thereby implying that growth helps in giving jobs to youth and also makes it possible to drive them for higher education by opting out of the labour market.

FIGURE 6

State-wise Annual Growth in the Number of Unemployed Youth
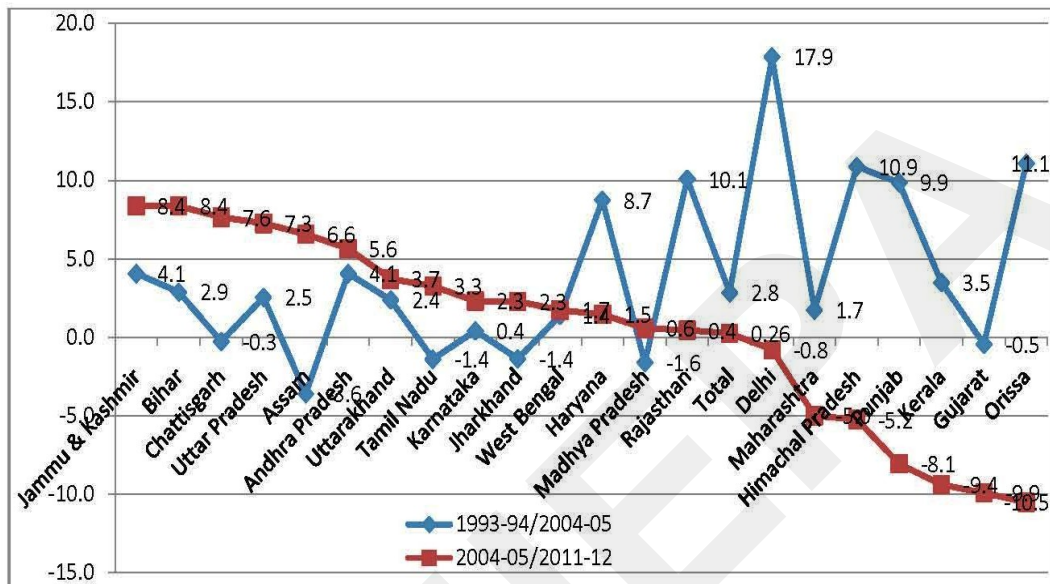
In brief, the overall employability of youth has declined over the years, which is largely due to the rising incidence of unemployment among youth with education levels up to or below middle school. The reduction in unemployment rates among those with educational levels up to secondary school and higher, except graduates with technical degrees, largely confirms that an improvement in the education levels of youth has led to a concomitant improvement in their employability since the early 1990s. However, the prevalence of a high rate of unemployment among graduates and technical degree/diploma-holders is still a matter of concern. This also justifies the concerns of employers regarding the poor education and skill levels of youth passing out of higher and technical educational institutions. There is a huge disconnect between the theoretical learning and practical knowledge being imparted in educational institutions. Moreover, the mushrooming growth of technical education institutions during the last two decades has grossly undermined the quality of vocational and technical education in the country. As a result, the demand for degree level technical education offered by private institutions has significantly reduced as evidenced in a sizeable number of seats remaining vacant therein, in recent years. Many private institutions offering degree level technical education are now also offering diploma level education. The demand for such diploma level courses is increasing as industry is getting technically qualified undergraduates at comparatively low salaries. The emphasis of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi on imparting skills among Indian youth for helping them improve their employment prospects, coupled with the current initiatives under the National Skill Development Mission, should ensure that the gap between current education levels and the needs of the industry is bridged by ensuring both the quality and the relevance of technical education in the country.

Likelihood of Youth Getting into Regular Employment

The available employment is generally categorised as self-employment and wage employment. The wage employment is further categorised into regular and casual wage employment, based on its regularity and mode of wage payment. Regular salaried employment is generally considered as a better form of employment due to its security and comparatively better wage earnings. Since the incidence of the working poor is the least among the regular salaried workers, as compared to those working as self-employed or casual wage labour, opportunities for such employment are limited. It is worthwhile to analyse the likelihood of youth acquiring such employment. This has been explained with the help of multinomial logit regression model. As seen in the aggregate employment pattern of India, more than half of the youth are likely to enter into self-employed form of employment. The probability of youth getting regular employment has been the lowest, followed by the probability of their getting casual employment (p>0.21 for regular and p>0.27 for casual employment).

Education significantly helps the youth in moving into regular employment. By controlling for age, experience, caste, gender and place of residence, the likelihood of youth getting into regular salaried jobs improves with each level of higher education. With reference to illiterates, the probability of youth getting regular salaried jobs is more than ten times higher in the case of those with diploma/certificate level of education (p> 65 as compared to p>6 for illiterates). The next highest likelihood of youth getting into such jobs is for those having graduation and higher level of education. In fact, the probability of youth getting into regular jobs has been seven points higher for diploma/certificate-holders as compared to degree-holders (Table 8).

The likelihood of youths getting regular employment has significant variations among different socio-religious groups. Despite having similar levels of education, experience and place of residence, the likelihood of a ST youth getting a regular salaried job is 3.8 times lesser than that of an OC youth (p> 0.34 for OCs and p>0.09 for STs). The probabilities of SCs, OBCs and OC-Muslim youth getting such regular salaried jobs are more or less similar, at 0.19-0.20, and are much higher than the probabilities of ST youth getting jobs, but far less than those for youth belonging to the OCs group. Their likelihood of remaining in such jobs is about 1.8 times lesser as compared to that of OCs. The prevalence of such huge differences also shows discrimination in the regular salaried labour market as employers often give preference to OCs while hiring workers in the private sector (Thorat and Newman, 2010). Similarly, gender segregation also persists in the labour market as the probability of females getting regular jobs is around six points lower than that of males.

TABLE 8
Adjusted Probabilities of Getting Various Types of Employment—
Multinomial Estimates (2011-12)

Variable		Self-Employment*	Regular Employment	Casual Labourers
Sector	Rural*	0.57	0.10	0.34
	Urban	0.40	0.45***	0.15***
Age	15-19*	0.53	0.17	0.30
	20-24	0.51	0.24	0.26
	25-29	0.50	0.24***	0.26***
Sex	Male*	0.44	0.24	0.32
	Female	0.59	0.18***	0.23***
Educational Level	Illiterate*	0.51	0.06	0.43
	Primary	0.48	0.12***	0.39***
	Middle	0.52	0.17***	0.31***
	Higher Secondary	0.57	0.24***	0.20***
	Diploma and Certificate	0.24	0.65***	0.11***
	Graduate and above	0.39	0.58***	0.03***
Socio-religious Group	STs*	0.55	0.09	0.36
	SCs	0.37	0.19***	0.44***
	OBC-Muslims	0.53	0.19**	0.28***
	OBC-Others	0.54	0.20***	0.26***
	OC-Muslim	0.59	0.19	0.23***
	OCs	0.54	0.34***	0.12**
Total		0.51	0.21	0.27

Note: Number of Observations=46,685; Pseudo R^2= 0.1968 *Denotes the reference category.
*** Significant at 1 per cent level of significance.
Source: Calculated from NSSO (2014).

In brief, education definitely improves the prospects of youth getting into regular salaried jobs. However, the high incidence of unemployment among highly educated youth, particularly those having a technical degree and a technical diploma level education indicates the lack of such opportunities in the labour market (ILO 2010; Chadha 2000; Mamgain and Tiwari 2016). More worrisome is the fact that many of the employers in the private sector do not find education and skills of technical and other graduates suitable to their work (FICII, 2010; India Skills Report 2014; ILO 2013). This calls for reforming the existing higher and technical education system by improving the practical content in higher education, for better employability of youth and thus, reducing the wastage of high order human resources. This would necessitate regular industry-academia sharing of resources for job-oriented education and skills.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, while the educational development of youth in India has been improving over the years, it still remains less than desired as compared to many developing as well as developed countries. Despite a faster pace of convergence in the literacy rates of youth across their gender and social groups, SC/ST youth lag far behind in their educational development as compared to other social groups. Much of the deficits on the front of

educational development are due to discontinuation of a large chunk of youth after their primary schooling, primarily due to poor economic conditions and other back-breaking household chores. This is more so in poorer states. Thus, a major challenge is to improve the educational development of youth. Since education significantly enhances the probability of getting better jobs, efforts need to be made to ensure the higher transition of youth to vocational and technical education, and also to higher education. Although the measures towards educational development of SCs/STs such as the grant of scholarships and free uniforms, provision of free coaching for competitive examinations, and imposition of reservation in educational institutions have improved their participation in education at various levels, these need to be scaled up and improved further.

An alarming aspect is the increasing deficit of quality education and skill training. Public educational institutions, at both the school and higher levels need to be strengthened and made accountable for their quality and relevance. Private educational and training institutions also need to be monitored closely for the quality of teaching they offer, and their fee structures. The current measures of skill development under the National Skill Development Mission need to be pegged up in a big way, in order to address the skill shortages being faced by the Indian industry. Though a major assessment of the National Skill Development Programme of the government is yet to be known, the preliminary evidence shows a mixed response as its implementation being of ad-hoc nature, with little concerns for employment prospects in states like Uttar Pradesh. Unlike in the past, today's youth are more informed and keen to be a part of the IT revolution. They are justifiably asserting their concerns for a decent and dignified life. Politicians and policy-makers must, therefore, come forward in a big way to facilitate the overall development of the youth in the country and to ensure decent employment opportunities for them.

Persistence of unemployment among the youth may lead to conflicts also (Carmer 2010; Planning Commission 2008). The challenge, therefore, is to create a large number of remunerative employment opportunities with adequate social security for both youth as well as others in the coming years. Various policies and programmes for creating employment opportunities have a less than desired impact on ameliorating unemployment situation among the youth. This calls for measures to increase investment in the labour-intensive sectors, especially in the industrially backward and remote areas, which include measures for easy-to-do-business, infrastructure development, safety, good governance, and sound corporate social responsibilities and ethical practices on the part of the industry. It is thus imperative to intensify policy initiatives to promote enterprise development, particularly among the SCs/STs, in a big way. As most of the new employment on offer is contractual by nature, without any social security and low levels of wages, the employers of such labour need to realise that such practices would not help them in the long term to improve their growth and competitiveness. These measures would definitely help India attain its target of SDGs by 2030.

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Higher Education in India

— Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow[#]

Aparna Basu[*]

I consider it a great honour and privilege to have been invited to deliver this year's Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Memorial Lecture. I am very grateful to the National University of Educational Planning and Administration for having invited me to do so.

It was after considerable thought and deliberation that I decided to speak on higher education. The lecture is divided into five sections and the transition from one to the other may be a little abrupt. The first part is on Maulana Azad, his ideas on education and the initiatives taken during the years when he was Education Minister in the Union Government. The second deals briefly with the history of higher education, beginning with the universities in ancient India. The third traces the beginning of higher education in India during British rule. The fourth depicts the post independence scenario in Indian higher education. Finally, I refer to the challenges that we face today.

Maulana Azad had a multifaceted personality. His stature, both as an intellectual and a Congress leader during the freedom movement, can be matched only by a few of his contemporaries. He represented the now all too rare type of Muslim savants who flourished in the courts of Delhi. Deeply versed in the philosophies of the East and West, he contributed to the national movement in India by the power of his pen. Born in Mecca in 1888, on 11th November (so today happens to be his 129th birthday), his early education was at home and then at the famous Al-Azhar University at Cairo. At the age of 15, he had acquired a remarkable grasp over Persian and Urdu and was so learned in Muslim theology and philosophy that he was looked upon as a prodigy.

Azad was not a mass leader. He was a scholar by temperament and a lover of books. He loved the quiet of his library rather than the hectic life of a politician. He was essentially a man of letters. A voracious reader and a versatile writer, his command over the Urdu language was unsurpassed.

While all the numerous schemes, which were formulated and implemented during the period when Azad was the education minister, may not have been initiated by him, according to Dr Saiyidain, who was closely associated with him all through those years, in important policy matters, leadership and inspiration always came from Azad himself.[1]

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[1] K.G. Saiyidin, Maulana Azad's Contribution to Education, M.S. University of Baroda, 1961, pg.3.

In January 1947, Azad took charge as Independent India's first education minister and in a press conference held in February, he defined the relationship between education and the problem of national reconstruction. "Nothing has a more important bearing on the quality of the individual than the type of education imparted. A truly liberal and humanitarian education may transform the outlook of the people and set it on the path of progress and prosperity, while an ill-conceived and unscientific system might destroy all the hopes, which have been cherished by generations of pioneers in the cause of national freedom."[2]

After the first National Planning Commission was set up in 1950, at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1952, Maulana Azad said, "I consider that the planning of education on a national scale is perhaps even more important than national planning in economic and industrial development. Economic and industrial planning creates material goods. Education, on the other hand, trains the citizens and, if the training fails to inculcate the right attitude and ideals and encourages fissiparous tendencies, the security and welfare of the community is at stake. Our reconstruction of education must, therefore, aim at creating a unity of purpose among all our nationals and developing in them a common outlook which will transcend and harmonise the differences in history, background, language and culture that exist among various sections of the people."[3]

He explained this further by stating that the fulfilment of the Commission's plans will depend on the quality and character of our people, which can be improved only by a system of creative education. "We want in India of the future men and women of vision, courage and honesty of purpose, who will be able to play their part worthily in every field of national activity".[4] He urged the Planning Commission to increase the budget on education as he felt that not enough was being spent by the government on this.

Azad wanted to encourage the growth of science and technology at all levels of education. In his opening address to the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur in 1951, he said "One of the first decisions I took on assuming charge as minister was that we must improve the facilities for higher technical education in the country that we would ourselves meet most of our needs...I look forward to the day when the facilities of technical education in India will be of such a high level that people from abroad will come to India for higher scientific and technical training".[5]

Several new institutions were established during Maulana Azad's tenure as education minister. The Central Board of Education was strengthened in its coordinating role. The National Institute of Basic Education was set up to impart advanced training and conduct research. The All India Council of Secondary Education was entrusted with the task of reviewing progress of secondary education. The Central Bureau of Textbook Research as well as the Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance were established. The University Grants Commission was established in 1953 on the model of the British UGC, to financially assist universities and maintain uniform standards. The All India Council for Technical

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[2] Ibid, pg.30.
[3] Speeches of Maulana Azad: 1947-1958, Publications Division, Govt. of India, revised ed. 1989 pg. 208.
[4] Ibid. pg.209.
[5] Prem Kirpal, 'The Educationist' in India's Maulana, Abul Kalam Azad, Centenary Volume 1, ICCR, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 1990, p.187.

Education was reorganised. The Central Institute of Education was established to upgrade teacher training. National Laboratories were set up.

In the cultural field the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Lalit Kala Akademi and the Sahitya Akademi were started. The National Gallery of Modern Art was opened in 1954 and the nucleus of the National Museum started functioning. The National Archives of India and the National Library in Calcutta (now Kolkatta) were developed. Azad laid the foundation of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

The question may well be asked as to what was Azad's own contribution to the educational development, which on the whole, followed the recommendations of the various Commissions and Committees? According to Saiyidain, if Azad had not been "at the helm of affairs, the over-all pattern and spirit of education would have been different. I believe that his most significant contribution to education at this crucial stage of our history, has not been in the details of the new pattern that is gradually emerging, but in the broad, humane and balanced vision which he brought to bear on the entire educational situation in the country and his decisive leadership in many matters of controversy".[6]

For instance, when the role of Christian missionary societies in education came under criticism, Azad took a very balanced view. He paid a generous tribute to their pioneering role in the field of education, medical and social services and reassured them that their humanitarian work would receive due encouragement and appreciation. Similarly, he recognised the value of "public schools" which were being criticised for being elitist, but in a speech at Gwalior, told them that they must adjust themselves to the new India, which sought to give equality of opportunity to all. Democracy meant eschewing social exclusiveness.

When English as a language of instruction was being attacked, Azad took a realistic view and advocated a policy of not weakening it immediately and of going slow in replacing it.

Maulana Azad subscribed to the highest human values — intellectual, moral, social and religious. He maintained a balanced position between the radicals who wanted extreme changes and the conservatives who wanted *status quo*.

Higher education has a history of almost 2,600 years old. Of these, the first 1,800 years saw India to predominant with the oldest universities, the most ancient among them being Takshasila or Taxila (now in Pakistan), which was established in the 6th century BC. India had six other world class universities — Nalanda, Vallabhi, Vikramshila, Odantapuri, Jagadalala and Somapura which existed between the 10th and 12th centuries AD. These were all Buddhist seats of learning. Some of the innovations we talk of today, existed in these universities. These were global universities in as much as they attracted scholars from outside India. Chinese scholars came to Nalanda. When Hieun Tsang visited Nalanda in the 10th century, it had 10,000 students. The King of Java gave a handsome donation to it. Taxila was famous for its philosophers among the Greeks. From the romantic history of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, it is clear that in the first century AD., Indians and Greeks at Takshasila knew each others' philosophy. Alexander the Great is said to have spent some time at Taxila to interact with the Indian philosophers. Taxila was the capital of the province of Gandhara and this may be one of the reasons why many renowned scholars from across India gathered there, prominent among them being Chanakya, Panini and Charaka. These

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6 Sayidin, op.cit. pg.32

universities were residential and taught theology, law, medicine and liberal arts. There were strict interviews before students were admitted and peer review before they got their final degrees. Unfortunately, these universities were all destroyed violently by barbaric hordes who invaded India. Taxila was destroyed in 450 AD and the others in the 12th century.[7] After their destruction, the university system as such was not revived by the Muslim rulers, who could have drawn on the example of the great universities of their Golden Age in Europe and West Asia.

Universities in Europe were being set up when Indian Universities were being destroyed. The first university in Europe was at Bologna in Italy, which was established in 1088 AD and then Paris, 1150 AD. Oxford came later in 1096 AD and Cambridge in 1209 AD. By 1499 AD, Europe, which had 60 more universities and for the next 700 years dominated the field of higher education, and unlike India, the European universities survive to this day. Wilhelm von Humboldt created the first modern university in Berlin, based on the principle of the unity of teaching and research, whereas Napoleon established the *grandes ecoles* which were small, compact and highly selective institutions, designed to give expression to the principle of "careers open to talent". Harvard was established in 1636 AD, but American universities really started developing in the 20th century, particularly after the two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), when a large number of scientists, economists and other intellectuals emigrated from Europe to USA. Gradually, American universities became more independent of state control and were governed by the alumni.

English higher education in India can be said to have begun 200 years ago, with the establishment of Hindu College in then Calcutta in 1817, the first "Europeanised"' institution of higher learning. Here, as well as in similar colleges which sprang up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the language of instruction was English and the aim was "the cultivation of European literature and European science."[8] The first three Indian universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, established in 1857, were modelled on the London University, at that time purely an examining body, which admitted to its tests only students trained in the affiliated colleges. Subsequently, whenever the Government of India thought of reforming universities, the models sought to be emulated were always British. Never was any attention paid to India's ancient universities. But what officials in London or Calcutta and later Delhi formulated could not always be implemented. Lord Curzon, on his arrival in India in 1898, was astonished to find how little resemblance the copy bore to the original.[9]

Independent India inherited a system of education where literacy was abysmally low (less than 15 per cent of the population was literate); primary, vocational and technical education had been neglected; examinations dominated the system of teaching; the method of teaching was authoritarian and did not encourage students to think for themselves; the content was too literary and Western; there was an over-emphasis on the learning of English; there were structural imbalances and serious inequalities in the system and government control over higher education was considerable.

The first sector of education to receive attention after Independence was higher education and a Commission was set up in 1948, while Maulana Azad was Education

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7   F.E. Keay, Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, Oxford University Press, 1956 ed. Shailendra Mehta, Lecture given at MIT, Cambridge, Mass. On internet.

8   Presidency College, Calcutta, Centenary Volume, 1965, West Bengal Govt. Press, pg.12.

9   T. Raleigh, ed., Lord Curzon in India-Selections of his Speeches, London, 1906, pp. 317-18, 320.

Minister, under the Chairmanship of Dr S. Radhakrishnan. The report submitted in 1949 made several general observations regarding the aims and objectives of university education. It also made some specific recommendations such as 12 years of schooling before entering a college, large well equipped intermediate colleges in states; more occupational or vocational institutes; to avoid overcrowding the maximum number of students in an Arts or Science college, should be 3,000 and in an Arts College 1,500. The number of working hours should be increased; tutorial system should be introduced; there should be no prescribed text-books; there should be refresher courses for teachers and so on.

Indian higher education is today the second largest in the world, next only to China. It has expanded at a very fast pace since independence. According to the UGC Annual Report, 2014-15, the number of universities has increased from 20 in 1950 to 677 in 2014. As per the UGC data of September 2016, there are 47 central universities, 353 state universities, 123 deemed universities, 74 institutions of national importance and 246 private universities. The number of colleges has increased 74 times, from 500 in 1950 to 40,760. The total estimated enrolment in all higher educational institutions in 2014-15 was 3.3 crores.

In terms of the number of students enrolled in colleges and universities, India ranks second in the world. The findings of Ernst & Young show that with nearly 140 million people belonging to the college-going age group, one in every four graduates in the world will be an Indian.

The academic quality and standards of the Indian higher education, however, are far from satisfactory. Standards and facilities for undergraduate teaching in many colleges are worse than in some of the better schools. India has nearly 700 universities but sadly, there has been little focus on original research, innovation or breakthroughs in science. Not a single Indian university could make it to the top 200 universities that are part of the Times Higher Education world university ranking. No Indian university was even among the top 10 Asian universities.

"Indian higher education seems like an enigma enveloped in contradictions. Pockets of excellent teaching and research are surrounded by a sea of sub-standard colleges."[10] There is a wide variation in the quality of higher education in India. While at the top there are institutions of high quality such as the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), National Institutes of Technology (NITs), All India Institutes of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) and the Indian Institutes of Information Technology (IIITs) which have been globally acclaimed for their high quality of education. The National Law Institutes, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Delhi School of Economics, the Indian Institute of Science are all institutions of excellence which have maintained high standards. A number of excellent new private universities have emerged in the last few years, mainly, through philanthropic initiatives.

These institutions function as prestigious centres, but unfortunately, universities have not grown into centres of advanced knowledge and learning. The older universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are in a bad shape. Only a very few central universities have managed to maintain their standards.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are a large number of institutions, mainly in engineering, IT and management, which are of poor quality, ill-equipped, and operating with

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[10] Philip Altbach and Suma Chitnis, ed., Higher Education Reforms in India, Sage Publications, 1993.

unqualified staff, primarily aimed at the market demand — their objective is to extract a capitation fee and deliver a degree, deserved or not. Hardly 20 per cent of the engineering graduates are qualified enough to be given employment. A lax and corrupt environment has led to a proliferation of such institutions under the patronage of people with money and influence but little interest in education. Politicians recognise that one of the easiest ways to please the electorate is to open new colleges.

In between these two extremes are the majority of institutions which vary in terms of infrastructure, library and laboratory facilities, quality of teaching, etc.

After 160 years of the foundation of the first three universities, Indian universities have not been able to extricate themselves from their past. There is no dearth of diagnoses made and remedies suggested, but problems still persist.

What are the challenges that Indian higher education faces in the 21st century? As Philip Altbach pointed out some years ago, the reform of higher education is a difficult process in any country.[11] Most of the problems are well known but continue to persist. And you will, therefore, forgive me for repeating them. They are (1) the problem of increasing social inclusion without lowering standards; (2) the dominance of the examination system; (3) reducing the number and gradually eliminating affiliating colleges and the need for autonomous colleges (4) paucity of funding which in turn leads to various problems; (5) need for more vocational institutions and skill training; (6) need for better secondary schools; (7) the inadequate use of information technology and on-line teaching; and (8) political interference and lack of autonomy.

It is now widely recognised that universities cannot only be for the privileged few. Their doors must be open to the underprivileged and economically weaker sections of society. We have tried to do this by the policy of quotas and reservations. In the United States this is known as diversity. Many American universities have policies for increasing diversity. The initiative for this has come mainly from within the universities and not imposed by political authorities. Right from the primary school stage, private as well as public schools encourage the enrolment of children from different ethnic, racial and economic backgrounds.

It is not possible to maintain a high academic standard and make our colleges more socially inclusive, unless we provide good quality education to boys and girls of all castes and communities and from the economically weaker sections in our schools. As better equipped students go to colleges, it will enable universities to be socially more inclusive without compromising on the academic standards too much.

The main objective of our education system is, unfortunately, to prepare children to do well in examinations which are based on rote memory; questions are asked from textbooks and students who are able to reproduce what is in the textbooks score high marks. Even the task of preparing students for examinations is taken over by coaching classes and *bazaar* notes. The focus of education should be on creativity, increasing the child's intellectual curiosity and critical thinking. The examination system should be geared to understanding, rather than the ability to reproduce the textbook script. This is not a new problem. The University Education Commission Report (1948-49) said "We are convinced that if we are to suggest one single reform in university education, it should be that of examination".[12] The

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[11] Philip Altbach and Suma Chitnis, op.cit, pg.13.
[12] University Education Commission (1948-49), Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, First Reprint ed., 1962, pg. 328.

Secondary Education Commission (1953) repeated this sentiment by regretting that "Our system of education is very much examination ridden…The examinations determine not only the content of education but also the method of teaching - in fact the entire approach to education."[13]

In 1957, a committee appointed by UGC with S.R. Dongerkery as Chairman, made several recommendations to improve the academic and technical aspects of examinations. UGC, as a follow up process, invited Dr Benjamin Bloom from the University of Chicago to advise the Commission on the examination reform. The Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66 lamented the lack of progress in examination reform. In 1988, UGC stated that the examination system should be less prone to manipulation and corruption. None of these reforms have been seriously implemented.

There is an enormous wastage in higher education as nearly 50 per cent students fail. As the Radhakrishnan Commission observed almost 70 years ago, leaving aside these failures, even the standard of teaching and examination is so low, with a minimum of only 33 per cent required for passing, that even those who pass are ill-qualified to be employed. There is much talk of India's demographic dividend but unless the young people get a proper education or skill-training how can they contribute to the country's development?

The system of affiliating colleges to the university is another problem. This was introduced in 1857. Surveying Indian education in 1901 at the Shimla Conference, Curzon observed, "Here the universities have no corporate existence. It is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the students of affiliated colleges."[14] A few years later he said that the connection of student to the university was nothing beyond the sheets of paper on which were printed the questions which he answers.

Calcutta University and University of Rajasthan each have more than 1,000 affiliated colleges today. It is impossible to manage so many colleges from one central authority and hold examinations for so many students. Universities are unable to hold examinations or declare results in time. Examination papers leak. There is extensive copying, often mass copying. The Report on the Standards of University Education, published by UGC in 1965, analysed the academic, technical and administrative problems of the affiliated colleges and held that colleges must become independent, framing their own curriculum and holding their own examinations and granting degrees. There will be problems and there are risks involved but the experience of independent degree granting colleges in the United States for over 300 years has produced no disastrous consequences. In fact, the system has worked rather well. UGC has proposed autonomous colleges but there have been very few takers. The Report of the Committee for Evolution of the New Education Policy, 2016 has recommended that no university should have more than 100 affiliated colleges.

The number of vocational institutes needs to be increased so that students after completing secondary school are not compelled to go to colleges. This is of course not a new suggestion and has been repeated by every education commission. It was first mentioned in Sir Charles Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. The Education Commission of

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[13] Report of the Secondary Education Commission, 1953, Publications Division, Govt. of India, pp. 145-46.

[14] Aparna Basu, The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, OUP, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 12-17.

1882 advised the introduction of a "modern" side of education in High Schools and suggested the starting of industrial schools. After the Shimla Conference, Curzon constituted a committee to go into the question of industrial education. Subsequent education commissions have all talked of the need for vocational schools. While these have been started, we need many more. These institutes must have the requisite workshops, trainers and industry linkages. Admission should not be restricted to those who obtain a first division in Class XII.

Universities have been facing an acute financial crisis for many years. The system of financing higher education needs reform. The grants-in-aid system introduced by the British in 1919 continues to date with little change. While student enrolment has increased, government expenditure per student has actually declined. Government budgets cannot adequately fund higher education as primary education is starved of funds and we do not have unlimited resources. All central universities have been affected by the slashing of funds by the UGC. As a result all aspects of university life are suffering.

The appointment of *ad hoc* teachers, instead of tenured faculty, is one result of this. A large number of posts are lying vacant especially in state universities and colleges because there is a reluctance on their part to fill posts on a regular basis in order to save the outgo on salaries of full time faculty. Moreover, the recruitment process in states through the Public Service Commission is a time-consuming affair. The absence of a permanent faculty adversely affects the quality of research and teaching.

Paucity of funds has also forced libraries to cut down on the purchase of new books and subscription to journals, especially foreign journals which are expensive. The condition of state universities is even worse, where virtually the entire budget is spent on salaries and other establishment charges, with hardly any funds left for libraries or laboratories.

The higher education sector can greatly benefit from the use of Information Communication Technology. Access to lectures and course material and interaction with top educational institutions in the world through virtual classrooms, on-line tutorials and tests present enormous opportunities for participatory learning and global networking. With all the information required available on the internet, the method of teaching has to change. Classes have to become interactive. Students must be encouraged to participate in seminars, discussions and write essays.

The colonial legacy of control and interference by the government has continued. Successive governments of every political party have unabashedly tried to control and manipulate the system when in power at the centre or in the states by appointing their own loyalists to academic posts or governing bodies based on merit if possible, but otherwise, without. Universities have become battlegrounds for the promotion of every kind of personal and sectional interest. In all universities, each time the process of selection of a Vice-Chancellor begins, campus politics has a field day. Interference by political parties in appointments to administrative and academic posts as well as in the control of students' unions disturbs teaching, examinations and academic life and is responsible for the decline of universities. The Committee for Evolution of the New Education Policy, 2016, admits that the present system of appointing Vice-Chancellors has "become prone to manipulation, which militates against the appointment of competent persons as VC with vision and leadership". It wants the process to be depoliticised and recommends that "the central and state governments come together and agree on common agenda for appointing persons of

academic eminence and leadership qualities…". Surely, the parties in power at the centre and in the states are bound to politicise this process.

A university in modern times is ideally conceived as a space for the free exploration of the many dimensions of knowledge and multiple points of views, through research in the natural and social sciences, the humanities as well as education in their more practical dimensions. Scholarship cannot progress unless divergent views are given room for expression. But today, in our universities disputes are not about academic matters but about salaries, promotions and distribution of seats and posts among different castes, communities and factions.

With the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the increasing criticism of British policies by the educated class, the government felt that English education posed a hazard to its rule. As Lord Curzon declared the first and foremost cause of political unrest in India was "the education we have given to the people of this country."[15] As the educated class became more vocal in its criticism, earlier doubts about launching English education in its passage to India were reinforced and gave new point to its dangers in an Indian setting. Did it not produce men who were "ill-regulated, averse to discipline, and in some cases actually disloyal?"[16] As the government had moved out of the field of higher education, Indians had moved in with dangerous political consequences. Curzon formally abandoned the doctrine that the state should not interfere in higher education. Instead, he was for a policy where the state could have the initiative and control a planned system from the centre. He believed that the government had to reassert "that responsibility which had been there, a tendency to abdicate."[17]

Curzon's university reforms were vociferously opposed by the nationalists "as a political manifesto in an academic guise". Gopal Krishna Gokhale led the opposition and said that the proposed reforms would make the universities departments of the state.

Thus were laid the foundations of the tussle between government control and the demand for university autonomy.

These aspects of colonial legacy have remained with us for 70 years. No government has seriously tried to rethink the issue as successive regimes criticise the previous one for interference but continue to maintain control.

The Committee for Evolution of the New Education Policy, 2016, in its Report recommends greater autonomy for universities and colleges but at the same time suggests that there should be a national curriculum for all colleges and an All India Education Service. While the report recommends reducing the powers and functions of UGC, it suggests a new National Higher Education Promotion and Management Act and the setting up of new bodies such as a Council of Education in each state, which will approve new courses that will be taught. The Ministry of Human Resources Development tries to pressurise IITs to admit more students and control the governing bodies of IIMs and the appointment of directors. We cannot get rid of the mind-set of government control of higher education.

Adherents of opposed viewpoints believe themselves possessed of truth and as righteous persecutors of untruth. Maulana Azad passionately advocated tolerance as one of

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[15] Ibid. pg.9

[16] idem

[17] Ibid. pg.11

the basic values of life. He believed that truth is not the monopoly of any one person, that India is a pluralistic society where people of different religions, castes, creeds and languages could live together in mutual peace and harmony.

Academic freedom is a non issue in totalitarian regimes. Only democracy which is underpinned by pluralism and skepticism with regard to absolute truth can encourage and tolerate free expression of ideas. Mao's call for the blooming of a hundred flowers was welcomed as a promise of plurality and freedom of thought. Unfortunately, it turned out to be a ploy for smoking out and crushing of those critical of his shibboleths and preconceptions. But his idea of a garden of many hues is an apt metaphor for the ideal condition of a university campus.[18]

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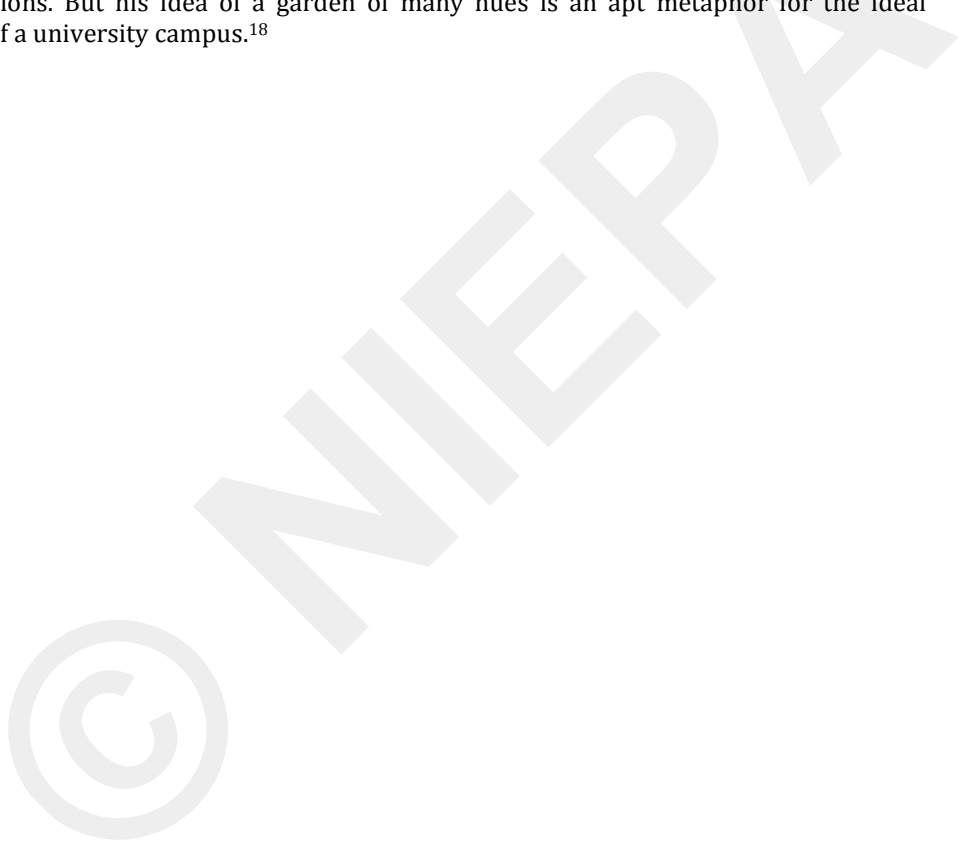
[18] "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" by Aparna Basu and Madhuri Sondhi, Tribune.

Decentralisation and Institutional Dynamics of Educational Governance

— A Study of Three Schools in Alwar District of Rajasthan

Anuradha Bose[*]

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Introduction

Governance and management of education system in India was decentralised corresponding to the three-tier system of governance. Democratic management of educational institutions aimed to develop a responsive and accountable system of delivery of education, is to ensure an increased access to educational facilities by all. The aspect of participatory educational governance for inclusion of the traditionally deprived was, therefore, considered vital by the policy makers. Over the years, several approaches have been adopted for accommodating the educational needs and aspirations of the people at the grassroots through local level institutions and agencies of governance. However, taking note of the heterogeneity of the Indian complexities, several contextual dynamics affect the governance process, impeding the success of public service delivery to the general populace, especially in the case of education.

The present study, therefore, attempts to understand the realities of the context in which a school operates in the rural sector in India. It also interrogated the socio-cultural, economic, political as well as historical attributes of the region that may determine the interface between the institutions (government, school, community and the actors within), and, the dynamics affecting the governance in education at the sub-district level. Therefore, the objectives of the study were:

- To analyse the institutional dynamics at the local level of governance in education and the established structures and process of power sharing.
- To understand whether decentralised governance in education enables effective delivery of education.

Data and Methodology of the Study

The study adopted a qualitative approach in order to understand the interface between the government, school and community, determining the practical implications of educational governance at the local level. The basic arguments were studied through case studies of three government elementary schools and the community it caters to, located in the rural setting of two educationally backward blocks, Umerain and Kishangarh Bas in Alwar district[1]. Additionally, secondary data[2] was also utilised for developing a better understanding about the status of education and for locating the argument.

The respondents comprised participants at the local governance level (in the respective villages), institutional bodies (educational administrators and, teachers and headmasters) and the stakeholders (parents and community members). Focused group discussions were

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[1] As per SSA Report, 2008. *http://ssamis.nic.in/blockdetail.do*

[2] Databases used for particular indicators were DISE education statistics for understanding the education status of the state, district and school through specific indicators; AISES Survey 7th round for determining learning achievements, and, AISES Survey 8th round for available educational facilities, input indicators, reflecting on possible transition; SSA Report 2008-2009 for block-wise education status and Rajasthan SSA 2013-2014; State Election Commission data of village-wise electoral rolls also providing a map of the habitations; and Census of India, 2011 giving demographic profile and literacy levels, helping in determining the context and change in education scenario in the last decade.

conducted with the teachers and community (and SDMC members). In-depth conversational interviews were organised with the teachers and headmaster of the three schools. The overall context of the schools and institutional dynamics affecting their functioning were studied with the help of information and unstructured interview schedules[3], used to collect data on the field (administered by the researcher), in consonance with the objectives of the study. A simultaneous evaluation of the socio-cultural context of the educational institutions was undertaken.

Findings and Analysis

The institutional dynamics in educational governance was analysed through the parallel structures of educational administration and Panchayati Raj institutions, and their coordination and functioning. This top-down approach of administrative decentralisation has often had a contrasting effect on the educational governance at the sub-district level, especially in the contexts like Rajasthan, where social disparities and discrimination by the dominant caste are highly institutionalised. While the state embraced the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee way back in 1959, and decentralised the governance of primary education, the necessary corresponding shift towards representative participatory governance is still a far-fetched goal. The most recent landmark Right to Education Act, 2009 encourages community participation in educational governance at the school level, particularly parental participation, through bodies like School Management Committee, Mother Teacher Association, Parent Teacher Association, etc. However, the societal dynamics and feudal culture of power capture give rise to a dichotomous situation, rendering these institutions dysfunctional. While participatory governance in education at the rural local level might exist on paper, their contribution at the practical level is questionable.

This study, therefore, identifies four levels of power relations, while studying the structures and processes of decentralised educational governance, that is, at the government or bureaucratic level; at the village level between the communities and the gram panchayat; at the school level within the school and between the school and the community members; and, at the community level (intra-community).

Educational management at the local level takes place through numerous actors and institutions. The authority entrusted in the hands of these actors guided by the nature of devolution in Alwar and the power culture of dominance by upper castes determines the effectiveness of governance in education. While successive legislations have encouraged community participation in governance at the grassroots level in Alwar, substantive authority is still in the hands of the political elite, who may not often delegate for the benefit

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[3] District and block information schedule, village information schedule and school information schedule were used to understand the institutional structures and the context of education governance. DEEO/ABEEO (District Elementary Education Officer/Additional Block Elementary Educational Officer) interview schedule, teacher and headmaster interview schedules, SMC/SDMC (School Management Committee/School Development and Management Committee) interview schedule enabled the researcher to analyse the interface of the stakeholders and the socio-political dynamics in the locality. Panchayat interview schedule was utilised to understand the status and role of the panchayats in the management and governance of education.

of the masses. As a result, the administration is often handicapped and is not able to focus and support the initiatives at the local level. Further, paucity of funds, lack of decision-making authority, excessive engagement with their correspondence with the political bodies, apart from their own prejudices affects their functioning. The interaction between the school and the government hardly takes place as monitoring and supervision (by the educational administrators) of the schools is highly irregular.

The empirical enquiry from the field explains that while situating a school and community participation in a rural setting, it is not only the school that is the focus, but the interaction between the entire gamut of institutions (formal and informal) that needs to be understood. The balance between the funds, functions and functionaries, the three essentials of decentralisation, when comes in contact with the social realities, shapes the governance in practice. Also, teachers and headmasters have a vital role to play as a link between the school, the village community and the local governance bodies. Considering the political culture and traditional social attitude of the unit of study, an attempt was made to understand the dynamics that affect the interface between the institutions and the functioning of the educational governance model at the grassroots level.

The village plan, as found in the panchayat election rolls[4], established a clear picture of social distancing of the disadvantaged communities within the villages, where habitations are structured on the grounds of caste like Yadav Bas, Harijan Bas and Jat Bas. Facilities like schools, health care centres and temples are generally located in the upper caste dominated habitations within the village. This makes the prevalent notions of discrimination and segregation on the grounds of caste more articulate.

In the race for power and prestige, the ultimate victims are the disadvantaged and disempowered communities residing in geographically distanced locations, away from the purview of the district administration, neglected by the panchayats and disparaged by the politico-administrative discourse. The village community and schools also suffer the apathy of the panchayats. The local power dynamics determine the membership and participation of the panchayats and as a result, the villages inhabited by the deprived communities are often neglected and receive no support. Lack of scope for self determination and awareness also hinders an active participation and support by the communities to the schools. Bodies like the CRCs and BRCs, established by the government at the sub-district level are also largely dysfunctional. These schools are practically functioning without any substantial support.

The case studies situate the schools as organic institutions in the rural contexts, responsible for community mobilisation and improved participation of parents as stakeholders. The clientele of the three schools belong to the socio-economically disadvantaged group of *Nat Jati*, *Mewas* and *Jangalaads* (a colloquial term for inhabitants of jungle), for whom educational access itself has traditionally been a challenge. The importance of formal education holds very less significance for these people and therefore, parental participation is uniformly missing. Lack of parental support has become a major discouraging factor for the children, who struggle to balance between their educational aspirations and livelihood needs, particularly for the girls.

Another major challenge faced by these children comes to light in terms of access and transition to secondary school, due to the safety concerns for the girls and small children.

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4 State Election Commission, Rajasthan. Retrieved on February 8, 2015. http://rajsec.rajasthan.gov.in

The community representatives at the schools share their concern regarding transportation facilities for children for which they need government support. They also suggest that since access is difficult, upgrading the elementary schools to secondary and senior secondary levels can also provide their children with the opportunities to study higher grades.

A widening discrimination in terms of access to quality education (greatly emphasised by the Right to Education Act, 2009) is a matter of grave concern in Alwar. Decisions regarding allocation and transfer of teachers, fund being devoted by the panchayats for education, supervision and monitoring by the educational administrators, and the effective linkages between the government-school-community are guided by social norms. Apart from a major shift to private schooling (not necessarily providing quality education) in the district, those who are in a better socio-economic position have an access to better quality education. Thereby, wide variations exist across the schools in terms of quality of teachers, teacher training and academic support, educational outcomes depending upon their location, as shared by the educational administrators.

Further, with only a certain section of the rural population (economically deprived and illiterate) accessing these government schools, the pressure on the schools to improve their performance and the quality of education being delivered by them is reduced. Their accountability is challenged, neither by the disempowered communities nor by the government. The quality of education delivered (teaching and learning) and schooling opportunities also suffer due to the apathy of the teachers and headmasters. They themselves strive to dominate the spaces in the educational context within the schools. This shifts their focus from teaching to other miscellaneous activities, where they feel more represented. While they do not interfere in the community life, their negligent attitude gets articulated when they share their opinion about the learning abilities of their students. Their belief that these children will never develop better learning abilities and become competent in the larger society, creates a discouraging environment in the school premises.

Conclusion

The current study, therefore, suggests that governance in education in Alwar is challenged due to myriad issues emerging out of the feudal history of the region, which gets reflected even in the state educational policies, as well as the administrative functioning. The basic principles of participatory governance through substantive participation in decision-making, accountability and transparency on the part of the institutions are highly compartmentalised. It shall be unfair to regard illiteracy as the main reason for ineffectiveness of the SDMCs, as most of the members have acquired a basic level of education. Therefore, the study identifies that it is partly due to the wide prevalence of elite dominance and upper caste power capture, regional legacies, social considerations, etc., persisting till date, and partly due to the lack of authority corresponding to the responsibility at the disposal of the educational administrators, making them puppets in the hands of the political aspiration.

The social norms of power capture and elite dominance is highly institutionalised in Alwar that has perpetuated over time and affected the entire education system. Governance in education at the local level will become effective only with substantive participation through empowerment of the communities emerging from the improvement in the educational scenario at the rural local level. Teacher training must be emphasised and

focused upon by the government. Teachers and headmasters are an important link between the school and the larger society. Having proximity to the community, they understand the local priorities and dynamics in greater detail, and must, therefore, be empowered to have far reaching effects in terms of community development through education.

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Book Reviews

BARBARA, M. Kehm and ULRICH Teichler (eds.) (2014): *Higher Education Studies in a Global Environment,* Vol. 2, Kassel: INCHER Kassel (Werkstattberichte; 74).

Higher Education Studies in a Global Environment, edited by Barbara M. Kehm and Ulrich Teichler, is the second and final volume presenting the highlights of the remaining thirteen master theses by scholars of the International Masters Programme "Higher Education Research and Development" (MAHE) established in 2004 by the University of Kassel, Germany. The book is divided into fifteen chapters, whereby the first and the last provide a description of the MAHE programme, and how the University of Kassel was among the first universities in Europe that established such a masters programme, in the Department of Social Sciences. The scholars and administrators of the International Centre for Higher Education Research (ICHER-Kassel) were the main drivers for the establishment and implementation of the masters programme. The MAHE taught exclusively in English, but with an option of writing papers and master thesis in English or German, addressed a broad spectrum of themes on higher education and society: the state of higher education research, empirical research methods, research on higher education systems, evaluation in higher education, higher education and the world of work, etc. The programme aimed to prepare students for two different professional arenas: to be educated and trained as practitioners, who might be named higher education professionals, i.e., experts in higher education management, support or service functions in the higher education and research system; and to be trained as scholars, for academic careers, notably in the area of higher education research. The chapters are a reflection of these very ideas and are an eclectic mix of perspectives on Higher Education in a Global Environment from different parts of the world.

There are thirteen core chapters ranging from case studies on Mentoring Networks, Internship Workforce as well as Student-oriented Services, and experience of Hong Kong Graduates as part of Academic Exchange from Germany; to theses concerning Uyghur students in China, to the Quest for World Class Universities in China; Multi-level Governance Experiments in Kenya to focus on Internationalisation in Vietnam and Lebanon; Migration issues in Colombia, a comparative analysis of Technology Transfer Systems in Germany and Russia, to trends of Higher Education Research in India The book is specially relevant, given the ideas and concerns being floated. When we say a globalised environment, there is often an impression, even in the case of higher education, that there is a similarity, and an identical imitation of ideas, methods and approaches and an integration at one supra-national, or global level. This book though in agreement, makes an addition, suggesting how in a global environment ideas travel differently. One such idea being the internationalisation of higher education. The chapters very strongly point to how there is no one definition of internationalisation in higher education, and it can be, and indeed, is interpreted differently. The author differentiates between internationalisation and globalisation, in the case of Vietnam, whereby internationalisation concerns its relation to national and cultural identities as each nation has its unique culture, customs, policies, etc., but how globalisation

then refers to a certain standardisation, and how there are political, cultural, economic and academic rationales for internationalisation, each differing among nations, actors and institutions. The following chapters deal with concerns of internationalisation in a very different way. The book unpacks some of the overlapping terminologies in the field of higher education. So we see a differentiation between internationalisation and globalisation on the one hand, as well as variants of internationalisation such as Isomorphism and World Class, along with nuanced understanding of international migration, brain drain and brain circulation.

Contrary to the understanding that a global environment denotes an integration with the world and thinking about global over national, moving away from sovereignty, the chapters in this book make a very strong argument for the increased role of governments at the national level in dealing with challenges and changes in the field of higher education, being experienced in almost all the countries, as well as multiple players being a part of the decision-making process. This is seen from the idea of Multi-layered Governance (MLG) being suggested in Kenya, whereby the government as well as other players and stakeholders and beneficiaries are sitting together to discuss issues, even in higher education, as is seen from the two examples of education sub-sectors (the AAU and ADEA) rejuvenation of and partnership in higher education initiatives.

In case of Lebanon, a more sustained involvement of the state as well as a capacity-building approach is suggested; improving indigenous higher education to face the competitive world. In the case of China, investment in higher education needs to make connections with migrants. In Colombia providing conducive conditions in terms of opportunities for higher education at home or at least letting them make contributions to their native country and remain connected with their roots through diasporas leads them to realise the aim of "Internationalisation at home".

Mobility in the field of higher education has emerged as an important theme, where mobility of students seeking better education, graduates and skilled workforce seeking internship and work respectively. Because the students also bring in a cultural baggage, where they are getting used to another country and its higher education, there are also efforts made by host countries (like in Germany) to make them adjust, by the employment of student support services, language options, etc. The description of the MAHE programme at the University of Kassel depicts its efforts at also having inter-cultural theories at its disposal to understand the experiences of international students.

Access as a major concern is being widely suggested by the chapters. Be it access in the form of migration to another country (in the case of Colombia for work, or study (in the University of Kassel, for example), or even at a national level devising Mentoring Networks for lesser advantaged sections, or even providing for participatory classes for the minority as in Uyghur students in a certain part of China, points to how there is a globalisation of access. More and more options are there to choose from, be it by transcending boundaries of region, or language, or class, etc., to avail optimum opportunities for higher education. Finally, there is also the issue of technology transfer, ranking and how flagship universities world over differ in degree in the way they respond to rankings in designing their homepages in the context of global higher education. However, at no point are the chapters suggesting homogeneity or a single yardstick of analysis of higher education, but rather diversity within the global.

Some key themes of higher education in a global environment could be identified and chapters could be arranged under those themes. The book is very much suggestive of a diverse, layered and differentiated understanding in the area of higher education. Further, most of the chapters concern developing countries, and some European countries, but the perspective of the developed countries is missing, with only momentary mentions. The book is definitely important in order to get a sense of concerns of higher education in a global environment. The concepts, approaches and ideas are relevant to many countries, for higher education will always witness change, and more and more students and graduates, as well as skilled workforce, and researchers are set to choose higher education institutions both within their country as well as in other countries. Thus mobility will only accentuate, increasing the need for more concerted reforms at the national as well as global levels. It is here that the concepts being suggested in this book will be important points of reference in gauging changes and enabling ways to reform higher education. Moreover, the book is an interesting read from the point of view of understanding some very relevant concerns of Higher Education in a very emergent global environment.

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SUSAN L. Robertson, KRIS Olds, ROGER Dale and QUE Anh Dang (eds.) (2016): *Global Regionalisms and Higher Education – Projects, Processes, Politics,* Edward Elgar Publishing Limited Cheltenham Glos GL502JA UK, ISBN-978-1-78471-234-1, Pages: 311, Price: £ 90.00

A very timely book when the rapidly globalising world has made higher education very complex. Reaction to the phenomenon of regionalism and globalisation has been in various forms in various disciplines. There have been many experiments and new approaches have been tried. It is generally understood that higher education is intuitively global. The academic resources are not seen as the sole preserve of any particular region or nation or institution, since knowledge is common property.

The central message that comes out of the book is that globally higher education is being transformed by regionalising and inter-regionalising projects aimed at resolving the ongoing economic, political and cultural challenges within and beyond the borders of sovereign states. Susan L. Robertson, Mario Luiz Neves de Azevedo and Roger Dale in the very first chapter, "Higher education, the EU and the cultural political economy of regionalism", make a substantive and theoretical contribution to the understanding of the role of higher education in regional governance projects. In the second chapter, "Different regionalisms, one European higher education regionalisation: The case of the Bologna Process", Susan Melo constructs her argument theoretically, draws upon the regionalism approach developed by Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum (Hettne and Soderbaum, 2000; Hettne, 2002, 2005, 2007; Soderbaum, 2007), argues existing diversity has increasingly been undermined by the way in which the mode of informal governance that characterises the Bologna Process has implied the embedding of various higher education policy programmes and orientation developed in different formally institutionalised frameworks for the

European regional cooperation. The third chapter, "Eramus Mundud and the EU: Intrinsic sectoral regionalism in higher education", by Roger Dale looks at the claim to uniqueness of the Erasmus Mundus (EM) programme and then the wider political context of Higher Education (HE) in Europe. The fourth chapter, "Inter-regional higher education arena: The transposition of European instruments in Africa", examines both the manner in which global normative references are disseminated in the HE sector in Africa and their future effects on the local HE landscape. An interesting point made about the Bologna process is that it displayed a dual face, of both governmentality and sovereignty, as a result of its territorial extension from Europe into Africa.

The next three chapters, fifth, sixth and eighth, "Harmonisation of higher education in Southeast Asia regionalism: Politics first, and then education", "Changing higher education discourse in the making of the ASEAN region" and "Irregular regionalism? China's borderlands and ASEAN higher education: Trapped in the prism.", trace the historical context of the formation of ASEAN out of a fear of the spread of communist ideology to its present *avatar,* where politics and ideology took a different turn and economic competitiveness in the global market took precedence for the grouping to remain relevant. The principle of non-interference in the political affairs of member states has not only endured but taken firm roots. All this has led to seeking to create a "Common educational space". The seventh chapter is different from the preceding ones, since it deals with "Shaping an AESM (Higher) Education Area: Hybrid sectoral regionalism from within", and, therefore, it has a main thrust to bring these two into conversation with each other, through examining how a region and sector relate to each other in terms of the consequences of sectoral cooperation for the region, on the one hand, and of regional cooperation in the sector, on the other.

The ninth chapter deals with the Barnets region, which is two decades old macro-political construction: a formalised multilateral collaboration between a number of countries within a geographically limited area, constituting mainly the land along the coast of the Barnets Sea from Nordland in Norway to the Kola Peninsula in the Nordic region of Russia and beyond to the Ural mountains, continuing to the gulf of Bothnia of the Baltic sea and the great lakes Ladoga and Onega. It is important to understand that this area has become a region worth considering separately, due to the advocates of establishing international cooperation after the fall of the Soviet Union. It is obvious, there are large differences between these countries. Presently, more Russian students go to Norwegian higher education institutes (HEIs) than the Norwegian students choose to study at the Russian HEIs. Consequently, while the HEIs integrate to a certain degree, it is the network that drives this integration. It is a unique case where educational cooperation contributes to developing a sense of community, rather the other way around.

The tenth chapter deals with "Transregionalism and the Caribbean higher education space". Basically, it sets out to survey the origins and consequences of the shift of regional governance from *immature* to *mature* and how this has impacted the coordination of activities of HE across the Caribbean community (CARICOM).leading to transregionalism. The eleventh chapter deals adequately with "MERCOSUR*,* regulatory regionalism and contesting projects of higher education governance*".* Mercosur or Mercosul is a sub-region consisting of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela in Latin America, where the peculiar predominant feature is the interplay of three contesting or overlapping projects of regionalism namely, hegemonic regionalism, a post-hegemonic scheme erected after

several political, social and economic crises in constituent countries leading to the emergence of welfarist projects domestically and regionally. The author has rightly sought to assess how MERCOSUR reconfigures HE governance and, in doing so, bypasses the territorial policy of the states.

The twelfth chapter deals with "South-South development cooperation and the socio-spatial reconfiguration of Latin America-Caribbean regionalisms: University education in the Brazil-Venezuela Special Border Regim*e*." Staying mostly in the same region as the last chapter, it approaches the changing geometries of Latin America-Caribbean regionalisms through the lens of South-South cooperation and the role of university education in the construction of a Brazil-Venezuela cross-border sub-region termed 'Special Border Regime'. Substantial time is spent on the Brazil-Venezuela development between 2003 and 2015 and the transformation of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR). The thirteenth chapter also deals with Latin America, "*Higher Education and new regionalism in Latin America: The UNILA projec*t". Here, since 2010 the project of creating Federal University of Latin American Integration (UNILA) basically unlike other university named after the countries of origin, the avowed mission was to contribute to the advancement of Latin American integration.

The fourteenth, the last chapter moves right to the centre dealing with middle east – "Regionalisation, higher education and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)". Unknown to many, the GCC countries have not much in common but for the fact that they are all rentier political economies. All of them concentrated on using their wealth to build the infrastructure providing vital services including higher education. However, the much needed cooperation within many actors and agencies eluded them, so they turned towards internationalisation and neoliberalism by almost default, to foster development and change in this region. This has been well narrated in this chapter.

However, academics around the world still lack a concise and clear definition of "global" and "globalisation". The book *Global Regionalisms and Higher Education*, edited by Susan L. Robertson-Kris Olds Roger Dale and Que Anh Dang, has attempted to develop a set of conceptual tools and lenses to understand the "Projects, Processes and Politics" of global transformation of the higher education. Different authors of the book have given some lines of theoretical and empirical enquiry, which shed light on new ways of looking at regionalisms and interregionalisms, where higher education is both a key sector in regional development, and by implication, the globalisation.

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The book is a recipe for readers of education as it comes from the experienced and stalwart of Indian education system, *Padmashri* Prof. J.S. Rajput. He has served as the Director, NCERT from 1999-2004 and at other important bodies of education. UNESCO has awarded him with Jan Amos Comenius Medal for his outstanding contribution in research

and innovation. Due to his intense familiarity with the educational field in India as well as international, he strives to bring all its possible paradoxes to the forefront in this book.

Education is a wide area where anything under the Sun can have implications on the field which may range from socio-economical and political issues to emerging issues of learning in psychology. Rajput addresses skillfully most of these and similar topics in the eighteen chapters. The book may, however, leave a reader with mixed feelings. Despite the range of topics to interest readers, it requires good editing and stylisation to make it engaging. The review would address this chapter-wise.

In the Preface, Rajput projects the issue of 'Education' with: questions of evolution, globalisation in human civilisation; education for all and; inculcation of values as set by the Indian philosophers. It prepares the stage of almost all the chapters; subsequently the author adds more topics chapter-wise. Each chapter has the date and month of its delivery perhaps as a lecture ranging from 2009 to 2015; except Chapters 14 and 15. Chapter 1 'Education Policy Formulation: the Decade Ahead' draws effectively the attention to the existential crisis that Education faces at Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education levels and what needs to be done in terms of emerging global trends. Poignant ideas like "Age can be no bar in flexible and learning friendly system..." (p. 23) and formation of "Teachers union...Subject teacher associations" (p.25) are welcoming points but need elaboration, especially from the expert author.

In Chapter 2 'Gandhian Perceptions on Education: Contemporary Relevance', the author contextualises the relevance of Gandhian ideology of 'skill development', 'heart in learning', 'man (human instead of man would have been welcomed with reference to gender sensitivity) making education' in globalised Indian society. It mentions the importance of 'indigenous knowledge' which is a theme widely studied in Education other than Gandhian Perception, therefore, needs a mention. The author pleads the case of Gandhian views on Education for a humane and egalitarian society.

In Chapter 3 'Curriculum Concerns' the author states paradoxes of human learning in the current scenario. It gives learning for growth and survival an upper hand over market-based goals. The ten points addressing the curricular needs on p. 55 are his rare insights but the title-heading 'envisioning second decade' (p.53) is unclear.

Chapter 4 titled, 'Teaching of Fundamental Duties to Students and Citizens' states the importance of citizenship education which is mostly missing in educational discourse in India. Organisation of duties as per the time line (Past, Present and Future) and individual, community and national makes the idea cognitively effective. It neatly synthesises the idea of thinkers, present scenario and the author's experience about the education of fundamental duties.

Chapter 5 seeks solutions from Swami Vivekananda. It is titled as 'Application of Swami Vivekananda's Teachings in the Present Education System'. It draws the irony of present times and truth in the words of Swamiji. However, in my view it is not 'surprisingly' (p.81) but ironically that the truth persists despite the fact that times have changed. The author thoughtfully draws the ideas of Swamiji to find the truth within with 'Learning the Treasure Within'. Such insights help draw positive comparison between the East and the West. However, the discussion on women's education is not gender sensitive and could be left as current times have visualised more freedom to women. 'Action points' at the end of the chapter are practically useful and relevant.

Chapter 6 'Basic Essentials of Education in Ancient India' brings forth the rich educational ideas from the Indian culture the concepts of *rina* or debt, *guru shishya prampara*. The ideas are linked with existential Upanishdic philosophy. However, the concepts mentioned need to be understood sufficiently. The chapter is highly desirable since it adds life and meaning to educational process. Mention of 'now-discarded caste system' (p.105) or *varnaashram* is not true since caste division and oppression exists even if not in the exact manner as earlier *varnashram*. If there is something wrong in our society it needs to be critically stated.

Chapter 7 'Medium of Instruction in Initial Years' juxtaposes effectively the Gadhian thought of encouraging learning through mother tongue and the stress on English language learning in India. The author's loaded experience and pertinent question states the plight of regional language education in India. The chapter may leave the reader motivated to work for the cause of Indian languages.

Chapter 8 is on 'Emerging Perspectives before Teachers' wherein, the author brings the idealism of education in contemporary paradoxes of society which teachers are burdened with. The chapter stresses on issues of quality education and role of teacher, both linked with a weak teacher education system. The chapter dampens the spirit with the mammoth task but buttresses it with inspiring quote of Ralph Chaplin.

Chapter 9 is on 'Harnessing the Education Systems: For Comprehensive Learning'. Despite the author's effective way to place hope on education for human development and existence, the ideas in the chapter could easily form part of the earlier chapters. Similarly, Chapter 10 is on 'Philosophy in Education and New Age Classroom'. The author mentions Russell Ikeda, Sri Aurobindo but largely Gandhi and Vivekananda are quoted again. The chapter safely puts a case of Philosophy and Science to guide Education. Chapter 11 titled 'Millennium Development Goals: Achieving Universal Primary Education-The Road Travelled by India so far' states India's initiatives taken and further proposal to achieve the same. Chapter 12 on 'Education for Gender Equality' mainly mentions about the need for women's education and makes a valid case for it to fight against issues like biases and violence. However, gender has more connotative implications than merely education of women.

Chapter 13 is titled 'Human Rights, Education and the Marginalised Groups'. It mentions Rig Veda's ideas of universal brotherhood and consequently makes mention of 'equality of opportunity' for various sections of society: girl child, SCs, STs and *Dalits* and minorities but ends with the case of universality of Human Rights, 'One Family' and leaves society responsible to achieve it. The chapter raises the rhetoric but by this time any reader would expect more action points like in the initial chapters or is likely to lose interest. Chapter 14 titled as 'Policy Perception on Value Education: Continuity of Imperatives and Implications' only adds two new and important points of Sri Prakasa Committee, 1960 on religious and moral instructions and points on secularism by Zakir Husain Committee Report. Chapter 15 titled as 'Role of Education in Peace Process: Combating Terrorism through Creation of Awareness and Educating People' sets stage of social conflicts, violence and terrorism at the world level and how 'schools and colleges' should address these issues. It only ends to make case of Human Values and Human Rights!

Chapter 16 is titled as 'Union State Relations in Education: Some Experiential Reflections' makes a strong case for Centre's role to maintain standards of Education all over the country. A case for CABE's critical review is put forth. Other planning mechanisms discussed despite changes with the new regime in 2014 are important. The chapter makes a

forceful argument for centre-state partnership to bring about the said concerns. However, it could only have been the author's insights due to his deep association with the field where he brings forth his observations about epochal changes in individual interests towards administrative policies (p. 243). These observations account for the change in the educational field, yet go unaccounted.

Chapter 17 is titled as 'Globalisation: The Context of Education' conceptualises global trend to reach out to the west trampling upon the indigenous and regional aspirations of India. Apart from similar arguments, the chapter has noteworthy action points towards the end. The book ends with Chapter 18 on 'Academic Excellence and Institutional Leadership' draws upon the idea of our Indian Universities like Taxila, Nalanda and Basic Education, the paradoxes of British administration and India's idealism for academic pursuit. The pursuit of excellence is drawn from inspiring words of Indians like M.V. Kamath, JRD Tata, Meghnad Saha, and D.S. Kothari and a few western scientists. This style to bring upon the great inspiring minds draws 'organic relationship...Institutional leadership, academic excellence...growth of leaders' (p. 276). These topics often get amiss in educational discourse. In the end, a reader is likely to close the book with motivational note where more accounts, anecdotes and quotes are added.

The book is succinct and intelligently packed with relevant debates that surround education. It possibly addresses substantial doubts or conflict in the mind of a reader about education. According to the author, the issue of education has at least these three major parameters of human existence: global changes in evolution and human civilisation; education as human right and values of Indian philosophy (especially Swami Vivekanada and Gandhi), thinkers and educationists. The author adds other factors like, poverty, poor administration, and quality to name a few. This brings justice to the complicated nature of education but might also leave a reader confused rather than informed. A reader can conclude the purpose of the author as either to effectively complicate or on the contrary, to brag the issue of education. 'Rhetoric' is a limitation often discourse of education plays and hence suffers from. Nonetheless, all those who are engaged with education might face this debate at some place or the other.

It is a terse task to convert thought into writing hence, the book can be difficult for prolific readers for two reasons: references and lack of stylisation. Several ideas need proper reference. Paragraphs and formatting can omit repeated points and texts to make reading easier. Nonetheless, one has to dig for the ideas and it is a good choice since it comes from a widely experienced person. One could also expect that such rich volume is modestly priced, at least for students in India.

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ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION
(Declared by the GOI under Section 3 of the UGC Act, 1956)
17-B Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi-110016
Web: www.nuepa.org

ADMISSION NOTICE 2017-18
(i) M.Phil. Programme; (ii) Ph.D. Programme

The National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), a Deemed University fully funded by Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India is engaged in capacity building and research in educational policy, planning and administration.

NUEPA offers M. Phil, Ph. D. and Part-time Ph. D. programmes in educational policy, planning and administration from a broader inter-disciplinary social science perspective. The research programmes of NUEPA cover all levels and types of education from both national and international development perspectives. NUEPA invites applications from eligible candidates for admission to its M.Phil., Ph.D. and Part-time Ph.D. programmes for the year 2017-18.

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Registrar